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## PREFACE.

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THE present work has for its main object to supply to Irish schools what has long been an acknowledged want, a manual of English History which, while free from all passages of offence and misstatement shall, at the same time, in matter and arrangement, be fully abreast with the knowledge and requirements of the time. It aims especially at supplying a trustworthy handbook to students preparing for the annual examinations of the Board of Intermediate Education.

In its preparation, original authorities have been largely consulted, especially for the Roman and Saxon periods, of which a more than usually full account is given. Of modern writers, though the great and yet unrivalled work of Dr. Lingard has in the main been followed, the author is also under obligations to the writings of Lappenberg, Turner, Palgrave, Kemble, Pearson, Freeman, and others.

The sections on Legislative and Constitutional History appended to the various periods are much indebted to the learned work of Professor Stubbs.

The Tables of contemporary Sovereigns, as well as the numerous Chronological and Genealogical Tables, will be found of special use to the student, while the marginal notes afford not only a convenient index to the subject-matter, but read in order may be made to serve the purpose of a *useful abstract* of the events of each reign.





HISTORY OF ENGLAND.  
*PART I.*



HISTORY OF ENGLAND.  
*PART I.*



THE  
INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

*PART I.*

TO

A.D. 1485.

BY

EDMOND WREN, M.A., LOND.



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## P R E F A C E.

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Endeavour has been made throughout to render the narrative as full and connected as the condensation imposed by the limits of the work permitted. But while nothing has been allowed to interfere with this primary requisite of a clear and accurate record of historical facts, it has been thought both desirable and practicable, even in a manual like the present, to do something more: to pass from the facts themselves to their relations and laws; to point attention to the underlying forces that urge and mould the successive phases of social progress.

The author's grateful acknowledgments are due to the Rev. J. E. Reffé, of the French College, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, to whose valuable suggestions and advice a large part of any merit the book may possess must be ascribed.

E. W.

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# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## *PART I.*

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# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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## CHAPTER I.

ROMAN BRITAIN, B. C. 55 TO A. D. 449.

A REFERENCE of the Greek historian, Herodotus, to the Cassiterides or Tin Islands, identified afterwards with the Scilly Isles, off Cornwall, is the earliest notice by the ancient writers of any part of Britain. Tin was, in early times, more valuable than now, on account of its use in the manufacture of bronze; and the Phœnician colonies on the coasts of Spain and Africa, as the supplies of the metal from the Spanish mines began to diminish, sent out expeditions to discover new sources of supply. To one of these was probably due the discovery of the Cassiterides, the secret of whose position and character the Phœnicians long preserved from the knowledge of other nations. Strabo gives an illustration of the strength of the national jealousy on this head. A Phœnician shipmaster, finding himself followed by some Roman vessels, ran his ship upon the rocks, and so not only sacrificed his cargo, but risked his life rather than divulge by his capture so important a secret. For this conduct his country indemnified him by a grant from the public treasury of an amount equal to the value of the lost cargo. The historian Polybius observes that when, later on, the Greeks had discovered the situation of these islands, they were as anxious to conceal the knowledge from the Romans as the Phœnicians had been to conceal it from both. Aristotle is the earliest\* writer who mentions the British Islands by name; he calls them Albion and Ierne. Hamilco, a Carthaginian general, who

Notices of  
Britain by An-  
cient Writers.

\* There is a reference to Ireland, under the name of *Iernis*, in the Greek poem, "*Argonautica*," supposed to have been written about the time of Pisistratus, in the fifth century B. C.

had been sent by his government on a voyage of exploration along the coasts of Western Europe, in the fourth century B. C., also discovered the Tin Islands, which he calls *Œstrymnides*, and which he describes as situated near Britain and within two days' sail of "the sacred isle of the Hibernians." The first Greek who visited Britain was Pytheas, a citizen of the Phocian colony of Massilia (the modern Marseilles). He is the first who gives any account of the inhabitants; he adds also estimates of length, breadth, and extent of coast line. The Greek geographer, Eratosthenes, is blamed by Strabo for following the inaccurate account of Pytheas, though both were more correct in their notions than Strabo himself, who places Ireland to the north of England. Polybius, the friend of the younger Scipio, devoted two books to the British islands. These books are now lost, and the only allusion to the subject of them that remains is in a passage where he intimates his intention of treating of several matters, and among them of Britain and the manufacture of tin. Another Greek geographer, Artemidorus, who wrote about B. C. 104, alludes to an island near Britannia in which sacrifices were offered to Ceres and Proserpina, as in Samothrace. He is believed to refer to Ireland.

Invasion of  
Cæsar, B. C.  
55.

The first knowledge of Britain by the Romans was due to the invasion of Julius Cæsar. That general, pausing in his career of conquest in Gaul, conceived the desire of extending Roman sway over the strange and mysterious land whose white cliffs he could discern from the Gallic coast. The Britons, who had heard from traders of his intentions, desiring either to appease him or to gain time for preparation, sent to him ambassadors with hostages and offers of submission. Cæsar received the ambassadors kindly, and on their return sent with them Commius, King of the Atrebates, to exhort the people to continue friendly to the Romans, and to announce his own approaching visit. On attempting to do so, however, Commius was seized by the enraged Britons and loaded with chains. In the meantime, Cæsar, having collected a fleet of about a hundred vessels, embarked from the coast of the Morini and directed his course to the shores of Britain, which he reached in a few hours. The place not being suited for a landing, and multitudes of the Britons crowding the cliffs, the Roman fleet proceeded some seven or eight miles further along the coast. Their movement was followed by a corresponding

movement on the part of the natives, who, with loud shouts and fierce gestures, hurled defiance at the invaders. This strange spectacle, as well as a certain superstitious fear of offending the gods of this unknown region, for a time intimidated the Romans. Soon, however, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, leaping with his eagle into the sea, called on his comrades to follow him in avenging the insolent taunts of the barbarians. This appeal was eagerly responded to; the soldiers gained the beach, and, after a short struggle, the Britons were completely defeated. The joy of the Romans at this success was damped by disastrous accidents to their fleet. A squadron of some eighteen vessels, bringing the cavalry from Gaul, was entirely scattered, those riding at anchor driven out to sea, while those which had been drawn up on shore became filled with water. The depression produced by these untoward circumstances was perceived by the British chiefs who had come to the camp to solicit peace, and encouraged them to withdraw without executing their mission. Hostilities were renewed by a sudden attack on the seventh legion, which, while foraging, had been set upon, and was only saved from annihilation by the arrival of the rest of the army. This was followed soon after by a general attack on the Roman camp, which, though unsuccessful, brought forcibly to Cæsar's mind the critical nature of his situation, the possibility of having his communication with the continent cut off by boisterous weather, and the consequent danger of being confined during the winter in an enemy's country, and without supplies of any kind. Moved by these considerations, he was glad to accept the semblance of submission from a few of the natives, and returned with his army to Gaul. Little reason as he had to congratulate himself on the result of the expedition, it was magnified by his friends at Rome into the conquest of a "new world," and the Senate decreed a thanksgiving of twenty days to the immortal gods in honour of it. Winter was spent in preparation for a new and more formidable invasion, which was carried into effect in the following spring. An immense fleet of eight hundred vessels, carrying five legions and two thousand horse, set sail once more from the coast of Gaul. The approach of this huge armament so terrified the natives that they at once turned and fled to their woods. The landing was thus effected without opposition, and on the same spot as on the previous year. Cæsar

His first Campaign.



The second  
Campaign,  
B. C. 54.

immediately set out in pursuit of the natives, but on the following day news of a disaster to his fleet recalled him. A storm had destroyed forty vessels, and driven many other ashore. Cæsar directed that the remaining vessels should be drawn up on the beach, beyond the reach of the tide, and that they should be protected by a fortification. This entailed a delay of ten days, after which the army resumed its march into the interior. The contests that followed were for the most part of a desultory character, and on several occasions the natives seem to have had the advantage. The tactics they pursued were the best they could have adopted. They studiously avoided a general engagement, but harassed the Romans incessantly by cutting off all stragglers, and attacking small bodies, where numbers assured them beforehand of success. Their chief warriors fought from chariots, which they managed with a skill and boldness that astonished the Romans. The steepest inclines did not check their movements, while such was their agility that in the midst of the fight, or on the most rapid movement, they would run along the chariot pole, jump on the ground and back again to their seat, whenever an opportunity appeared of striking a sudden blow. At length their partial successes over detached parties emboldened them to attack a considerable body of Romans who, having been sent out to forage, seemed by their loose order to promise hopes of an easy victory. At the first onset they broke the Roman ranks, and had penetrated to the eagles in the centre, but the steady valour, coolness, and discipline of Cæsar's veterans soon turned the scale; the Britons were totally defeated, and many tribes were so disheartened that they abandoned further resistance and returned to their own districts. This defection, however, was but partial, and Cassibelanus, King of the Cassii, the most powerful of the allied tribes, continued the war. Cassibelanus had, before the arrival of Cæsar, obtained considerable influence by his victories over his neighbours, and on the arrival of the Romans he was chosen chief leader by the tribes on the right bank of the Thames. On the desertion of his confederates, Cassibelanus crossed the Thames, and had stakes driven into the bed of the river at the only ford that existed; he then lined the banks with palisades, and drew up his army behind them. These measures were, however, of no avail against the Romans, whose cavalry dashed into the stream and was followed by the infantry,

Cassibelanus.

wading shoulder deep in the water. This resolute conduct dismayed the natives, who forthwith fled without a contest. This is Cæsar's account, but the flight of the army of Cassibelanus is ascribed by another writer, Polyænus, to the panic produced by the sight of an elephant in the army of the Romans. On the appearance of this huge animal, carrying a tower filled with armed men, and with its sides covered with polished steel plates, the Britons were panic-stricken, and took to precipitate flight. Cassibelanus, nevertheless, continued to resist. He laid waste the country before them, and with an army of 4,000 chariots hung around them, watching any opportunity of dealing them a blow. He had, however, enemies, and among them the Trinobantes, whom he had formerly subdued and whose king he had slain. These people now sent offers of submission to Cæsar, if their late king's son, Mandubratius, were restored to his father's government. The example of this tribe was followed by others, and by them Cæsar was led to the capital or chief fortress of Cassibelanus, near the site of the present town of St. Alban's. Though surrounded by marshes and fortified with a ditch and rampart, the Romans captured it without difficulty, and with it the cattle and other property of the king. This brave leader did not even then despair; he sent secretly to the chieftains of Kent to make an assault on the Roman camp and to burn their ships. The attempt failed, the men of Kent were defeated, and Cassibelanus at length sued for peace. This Cæsar, who was anxious to return to Gaul before the approaching equinox, readily granted on the conditions that he should live in friendship with the Trinobantes, should give hostages, and should contribute his share to the yearly tribute about to be imposed on the country. This treaty ended the invasion of Cæsar, who immediately marched back to the coast and embarked with his army for Gaul. Besides hostages, he took with him a tribute of grain, as also a corselet decorated with British pearls, which he dedicated to Venus. The promised tribute, however, soon ceased, and for one hundred years Britain was untroubled by another invasion.

Cæsar departs  
from Britain.

Although the effect of this famous expedition was unimportant from a political or military point of view, it had one result, that of drawing the attention of the writers of Greece and Italy "to the new world" of Britain, as Cæsar

himself, in his letters, called it. To what remains of their works, and especially to the victor's own commentaries, we owe whatever knowledge we possess concerning the appearance and the population of the country. The Britons themselves, we are informed, considered it unlawful to set down in writing the deeds of their kings and heroes, or indeed any matters but such public and private accounts as absolutely required preservation. For these records the Greek characters were used.

Origin of the  
Britons.

As to the origin of the name of Britain, various conjectures have been hazarded. Camden resolves it into *Brith* or *Brit*, a Celtic word signifying painted, and *Tania*, a Greek word meaning a region or country: so that *Britannia* would mean the country of painted people. A ridiculous myth, started by Nennius, and reproduced some centuries later in the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the "*Brut d'Angleterre*" of Wace, ascribed the name of the island to Brut, the great grandson of Æneas, who, after the fall of Troy, at the head of a band of Trojans, took possession of the country. It may be remarked that this notion of being descended from wandering bands of Trojans was widespread among the European nations in the early and middle ages. In England it continued very late; Edward I., in his letter to Pope Boniface in 1301, gravely rests on it one of his arguments for the supremacy of the English over the Scotch crown. First questioned by Camden, it lingered still in the minds of the learned, and it is alluded to many years later in the "*Comus*" of Milton. Another account of the matter is that preserved in those curious poetical histories, the Welsh Triads. The first Triad says: "Three names have been given to the Isle of Britain from the beginning. Before it was inhabited it was called *Clas Merddin* (the Land of Sea-cliffs), and afterwards *Fel Ynis* (Island of Honey). When government had been imposed upon it by Prydain, the son of Cedd the Great, it was called *Ynis Prydain* (the Island of Prydain); and there was no tribute to any but the race of the Kymry, because they first obtained it, and before them there were no more men alive in it, nor anything else but bears, wolves, beavers, and the oxen with the high prominence (bison)."\*

\* Among the fossil remains found in various parts of England are those of elephants, bisons, beavers, elks, bears, wolves, tigers, hyenas, and wild horses.

The fourth Triad tells us how "Hugh Cadarn, or the Powerful, led the nation of the Kymry from Deffrobany, or the land of summer, where Constantinople now is, over the Hazy (German) Ocean to the uninhabited island of Britain, and to Llydaw (Armorica or Brittany), where they established themselves." Other triads inform us that the people who next came to Britain were the Lloegrys, who came from the land of Gwasgwyn, or Gascony, and that they in turn were followed by the Brythones from Llydaw. These latter, like the Lloegrys, being kindred of the Kymry, and speaking the same language, the three peoples lived in amity and harmony, and were called the Peaceful Nations.

The triads appear to be no earlier than the time of Edward I., but they are believed to embody the popular traditions as to the first peopling of the country, and cannot, of course, possess any higher historical value than is generally accorded to such evidence.

Several traces of community in name and language seem to connect the ancient Britons with some tribes on the Continent. Tacitus mentions that among the Astii, on the shores of the Baltic, a language was in use very similar to that of the Britons. It is also added that the inhabitants of the western shores of this district were long known by the name of the Cimbri. According to Pliny, there dwelt in Belgic Gaul a people called the Britanni, and it is thought that their memory is preserved in the names of the Flemish towns, Bruges and Bretten, the old name of Mons. Other links of relationship are found in the identity of names of many Gallic and British tribes, such as the Atrebatas, the Cenomagni, and the Parisi, as well as in the Celtic termination *dunum*, found in so many places on both sides of the channel. We have the express testimony of Cæsar that the Belgæ, who inhabited the south-east coasts of Britain had come over from the Continent, and in their new home retained their former names and manners. These he describes as different from those of the interior of the island, the Albiones, who, he was informed, had sprung from the soil. Although Cæsar has left it undecided whether the Belgæ, whom he saw, were of Celtic or Teutonic origin, yet the general opinion is that the differences he points out can be accounted for by the fact of a more recent colonisation, and that the Belgæ, like the other inhabitants of Britain, were a portion of the great

The Belgæ,  
probably Celts.

The Druids.

race of the Celts, which, at the dawn of history, covered the greater part of Western Europe. To which of the two divisions of that race, the Gael or the Kymry, the ancient Britons belonged has been the subject of much discussion; the prevailing opinion is, however, that they, like the Gauls, were of the Kymry stock, while the Gael had its chief seats in Ireland and Spain. But the strongest link between the Celts of Britain and Gaul was, doubtless, that of a common religion. The Druids, as the priests of that religion were called, exercised in both countries the most powerful influence not only in religious but in civil affairs. They were not merely priests, but also judges and instructors of youth. They dwelt apart from the laity in huts or caves in the midst of the forests; they were exempt from military service and taxes; they were under the government of a chief or arch-Druid who was usually elected by themselves, though occasionally the occupant of the position was determined by an armed contest.

The Druids worshipped the same gods as the Romans, but under different names. Their chief deity, according to Cæsar, was Mercury, of whom they had many images; they regarded him as the inventor of arts, the guide of travellers, and the patron-god of wealth and commerce.

To Mars, or the war-god, at the opening of a campaign they vowed such spoils as might accrue during the war. Cæsar, speaking of the Gauls, alludes to the "large heaps of spoils laid up in their sacred places, which none dared to touch, for the most terrible torment was the sure punishment to be expected by those detected in the perpetration of that crime." Apollo was worshipped under the name of Belenus; he was the god of medicine, and a favourite of the Britons. Among the other deities were Jupiter, worshipped under the name of Toramis (the Thunderer), Janus, Diana, and Minerva.

Their sacrifices.

The religious ceremonies of the Druids were solemnized in the midst of groves of oak, a tree which, with its parasite, the mistletoe, was regarded by them as sacred. Oak leaves ornamented all their sacrifices, among which were frequently human victims. These unhappy beings were, for the most part, either criminals or captives taken in war. In the absence of such, however, the innocent were occasionally immolated. In their larger sacrifices they were accustomed to frame huge idol-figures of wicker-work, whose various members were then filled with living human

beings, after which a fire was applied, and the whole mass perished horribly in the flames. Private persons, too, had sometimes recourse to this dreadful practice. Those exposed to war and other perils, or labouring under a severe illness, would either offer, or vow to offer, a human victim to propitiate the gods and ensure their safety. In such cases they employed the Druids to perform the sacrifice. This custom was grounded on the belief that a human life could only be preserved by the loss of another. One of the chief religious festivals was at the gathering of the mistletoe. When an oak bearing it was discovered, the people were summoned, and, having first observed that the moon was six days old, two milk-white bulls, such as had never borne yoke, whose horns were then, and not till then, bound up, were sacrificed under the tree. A Druid, habited in a white vestment, then ascended, and with a golden knife severed the sacred plant, which was received in a white woollen cloth by those below. Many incantations were muttered, after which it was deposited in safety, and the ceremony concluded with feasting and rejoicing.

Among the doctrines taught by the Druids was the immortality of the soul; but to this they joined that of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls. Man, according to them, is placed in the circle of *courses*; good and evil being open to his selection: if he choose the former, death transfers him from earth to the circle of felicity; should he choose the latter, death returns him to the circle of courses; and, after having done penance for some time in the body of some animal, he ultimately regains the human form. The penitential process may be repeated, but in the case of the most vicious there was ultimate purification, and, after a certain number of transmigrations, permanent restoration to the circle of felicity. This belief that death was at worst but a passage of the spirit from one body to another was thought to account for much of the reckless valour which characterised the Celtic nations.

The Druids professed a knowledge of the motions of the heavenly bodies and of their influence on men, of the countries of the world, of the properties and healing qualities of herbs and plants, and of the virtues and powers of the gods. Magic and divination were also practised by them.

In their schools, to which only the youths of noble families were admitted, instruction was entirely oral;

Their doctrines.

**Their system  
of teaching.**

writing, as before remarked, was forbidden, lest the sacred learning might become known to the profane; and lest such an aid might weaken the memories of the pupils. The process of study consisted in getting by rote many thousands of verses recited by the teacher. Twenty years were not deemed too long for full proficiency in this mystic lore. Though Gaul was in many respects much more civilized than Britain, yet the Druid schools of the latter country had the higher reputation, and Gaulish youths desirous of perfecting themselves in sacred studies were accustomed, in Cæsar's time, to cross over to Britain for that purpose. The general aim of the Druidic system is placed in a very favourable view by the two following triads, the first of which proclaims that the objects of the order are "to reform morals, to secure peace, and to encourage goodness." The second says, "The three first principles of wisdom are—obedience to the laws of God, care for the welfare of mankind, fortitude under the accidents of life."

**The Druids  
as judges.**

Next in importance to, and indeed flowing from, their religious influence, was that which they exercised as judges. They decided not only all private, but all inter-tribal disputes, and adjudged the penalties in the case of criminal offenders. Those who disobeyed their injunctions, or refused to recognise their authority, were forbidden to be present at the sacrifices, proclaimed outlaws, and so rendered incapable of any office of honour, while the rest of the people shunned them as persons impious and accursed.

Closely connected with the Druids was another class—the Bards. These were poets and musicians, but the chief subjects of their songs were the descent and heroic deeds of their princes and chiefs. These they chanted on festival occasions to the accompaniment of their *chrotta*, or harp.

**Knights.**

Besides the Druids, there was also another privileged class—the knights or chiefs. Both these orders exercised extensive authority over the common people. Cæsar gives a sad picture of the condition to which their joint rule had reduced the greater part of Gaul. On the other hand, their power acted as a serious check on the authority of the petty princes among whom the land was divided.

**Druidesses.**

Before leaving the subject of Druids, it may be remarked that there also existed female Druids, or Druidesses. Of these there were three classes, the first of which never married; the second, though married, generally lived apart from their families; but the third, though likewise married,

lived at home, attending to their domestic affairs like other women. These Druidesses formed the band of fury-like females which so terrified the Romans at the capture of the Holy Island of Mona by Suetonius.

The Britons had for arms a dart, or javelin, which they hurled from the chariots, while the foot-soldiers carried a short spear with a bell near the end, which they shook violently before an engagement, hoping thereby to intimidate the enemy. Besides these, Tacitus speaks of their small bucklers and huge but pointless swords, to which another author adds a dagger. The war-chariots were, according to some, of three kinds, the *Essedum*, the *Covinus*, and *Rheda*. The *Essedum* is mentioned by Cæsar, who gives the following description of the fighting :—

Arms and  
mode of fight-  
ing of the  
Britons.

"This is the nature of their fighting from their chariots. They first ride in every part of the field and cast their darts as they think them advantageous, frequently breaking the ranks by the prancing of the horses and whirling of the wheels. When they have wound themselves among a troop of horse, they alight from their chariots and carry on the attack on foot. The charioteers meanwhile draw off a little from the engagement, yet so as to be ready at all times to succour the fighting parties, by being placed where the retreat to them would be speedy and safe. Thus they take advantage of the nimbleness of the horses and firmness of the foot. So expert are they from constant practice, that they can stop their horses when at full speed down a steep hill, and check and turn them in the smallest compass, run upon the pole, rise upon the harness, and with the greatest dexterity from thence return to the chariot."

From an observation of Tacitus, it would seem that the use of chariots was confined to certain tribes. It is thought, too, that the hooks and scythes with which the axle-trees were armed were limited to the *Covinus*. The charioteer was the superior person; those with him fought under his authority and direction.

One of the most common artifices was to feign flight, and when they had thereby induced pursuit, to suddenly wheel round on the broken enemy.

It was the custom of the Gauls and Britons to draw up the men of different tribes in separate bodies, so as to give full play to feelings of emulation.\*

\* This plan was recommended to Dundee by Lochiel before the Battle of Killiecrankie.



Augustus.

For nearly a century after the departure of Cæsar, the Britons enjoyed immunity from foreign invasion. Augustus, indeed, having gone to Gaul to adjust the tributes of the various nations of that country, intended, it is said, to undertake a new expedition to Britain. From this purpose, if he really entertained it, he was diverted by troubles nearer home—the revolt of the Salassi, a people of Piedmont, and by the outbreak of the Cantabrian war. To this result, also, an embassy from the Britons themselves, suing for peace, and bearing gifts for the Capitol, doubtless conducted. Augustus contented himself with levying duties on those commodities exported from Britain to Gaul, as ivory, bridles, amber, and glass vessels.

Tiberius.

Tiberius, following the principles of Augustus, did not disturb the Britons. During his reign a spirit of friendship and an interchange of good offices seem to mark the intercourse of the two peoples. Tacitus relates how, when the ships of Germanicus were dispersed by a storm, and some had to put into the ports of Britain, the natives received the Romans with the utmost kindness and humanity. Some of the British nobility are said to have not only paid frequent visits to Rome, but even in many cases to have resorted to its schools for their education. The coins of a British prince, Cunobelinus, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, and one of the successors of Cassibelanus, prove that the Roman alphabet was not unknown to the Britons.

Caligula.

This happy state of things did not continue. Internal discord between the British princes themselves furnished the occasion for their final conquest and subjection to a foreign rule of 400 years' duration. The power of Rome tempted the discontented to place themselves under her protection, and so furnished a decent pretext for interference.

The first traitor to his country who set this example to the Britons was Adminius, a son of Cunobelinus. This prince, having been banished by his father, placed himself and a few followers under the protection of the Emperor Caligula, then in Gaul, who accepted his submission as if the entire island had yielded to his authority. The Emperor sent off messengers to Rome bearing letters filled with the most extravagant accounts of his success. The bearers were directed to drive up to the Senate house and deliver the letters to the consuls in a full assembly of the Senators. He then ordered the army to

march to the coast, and, having drawn it up in battle array, the Emperor, after his return from a short trip in a galley, ordered a charge to be sounded, and gave the signal for battle. No enemy, however, being visible, he commanded his bewildered soldiers to gather shells on the shore. These, which he called the spoils of the ocean, he sent to Rome by land as ornaments of his triumph. One useful work arose from this fantastic and insane freak. He built, as a memorial of his imaginary victory, a watch-tower, which at night was to serve as a lighthouse to ships navigating the channel. This tower, called *Turris-ardens*, corrupted afterwards to Tour d'Ordre, was repaired by Charlemagne.

The example of Adminius was followed by another British prince, Beric, who, having been driven into exile, sought the protection of the Emperor Claudius, and suggested to him the invasion of his country.

Beric seeks protection of the Emp. Claudius.

Claudius, urged by his representations, as well as incited by the interest just then awakened by the late ludicrous exploit of Caligula, sent one of his best generals, Aulus Plautius, with four legions, to achieve finally the conquest of Britain. Such had been the reports spread abroad of the warlike character of the natives, that it is said the Roman soldiers could with difficulty be induced to break up their quarters. Among the officers of this expedition were Vespasian and his son, Titus, afterwards Emperors. On the arrival of the troops at the coast of Gaul, their unwillingness to embark was such that they almost mutinied. Plautius, landing without opposition, marched through Kent, following the route which Cæsar had taken, till he came to the Thames, and then marched along the bank of that river as far as Wallingford, where he crossed it into Oxfordshire. He soon after came up with the enemy. In the engagements which followed the Romans had their usual success. The Britons, under the leadership of Caractacus and Togodumnus, two sons of Cunobelinus, were utterly defeated. In one of the most fiercely-contested of these battles the brilliant valour of Cn. Osidius Geta was mainly instrumental in securing the victory. For his conduct on the occasion, the first important British victory, he was, though neither in chief command nor of consular rank, rewarded with the honours of a triumph at Rome. Vespasian and his son Titus also very much distinguished themselves. The losses of the Britons, however, did not seem to dishearten them, and, although

A. D. 43.

Aulus Plautius.

Caractacus

Togodumnus had been slain,\* and his brother, Caractacus, compelled to cross the Thames, they were still so menacing, that Plautius, as previously directed, sent word to the Emperor of the serious aspect which the war began to assume.

Claudius arrives in Britain, A. D. 44.

Claudius accordingly set out from Rome with a large army to the assistance of his lieutenant. On his arrival, he took command of the army, with which he penetrated to Camalodunum, the modern Maldon or Colchester, and there received the submission of the Britons. Before his departure, the Emperor divided the Roman forces between Plautius, his legate, and Vespasian, who had signalled himself by the most brilliant services in the previous campaign. The Thames formed the line of demarcation between their districts, Plautius taking the country to the north, and Vespasian that lying south of the river. Both the generals experienced from the natives the most formidable resistance. Vespasian fought no less than thirty battles before he succeeded in reducing to submission the Belgæ and the natives of the Isle of Wight; while Caractacus, at the head of the Cassii and Silures, waged a desultory and harassing warfare with the army of Plautius. In about five years this latter general returned to Rome, where he was rewarded for his services by an ovation, the Emperor himself having received the honours of a triumph.

A. D. 41.

A. D. 50.

Ostorius Scapula next received the command in Britain; with the view of protecting the subdued territory from the inroads of the free Britons, he erected two lines of forts, one along the bank of the river Avon, on the north, and another along the left bank of the Severn, on the west. The tribes within these districts were gradually reduced to a Roman province, the Iceni, who attempted resistance, having been put down with great severity. To secure their future submission, a colony of veterans was planted at Camalodunum. The spirit of resistance to Roman power was not extinct, and the Silures, headed by Caractacus, determined on the most desperate defence. Their resolution was strengthened by a remark of Ostorius, that their annihilation as a people was become necessary for his

\* Some doubt is entertained as to whether Togodumnus was slain in battle. Dr. Lingard thinks he, and not Caractacus, as commonly supposed, is the Cogidunus mentioned by Tacitus, who received back from the Romans portion of his territory, and continued faithful to them ever after.

projects. The decisive battle was fought at *Caer Caradoc*, a hill in Shropshire, at the junction of the *Coln* and *Teme*. The *Silures* had lined the bank of the river with troops and fortified the ascent of the hill with loose stone ramparts. As they beheld the Romans approach, they bound themselves by an oath to conquer or die, and then uttered loud exclamations of defiance. The Roman general hesitated for a time; but the legions becoming impatient, the signal for attack was given, the river was crossed, and the Roman soldiers, spite of showers of darts, rushed up the hill, overturned the ramparts, and drove the *Silures* from the summit. The wife and daughter of *Caractacus* were captured, his brother afterwards surrendered, and he himself having sought refuge with his stepmother, *Cartismandua*, was by her treacherously put in chains, and so delivered to the victors.

*Battle of  
Caer Caradoc,  
A. D. 61.*

The captives were sent to Rome, where the name of *Caractacus* had been rendered famous by his long and stubborn resistance to the Imperial power. As he passed through the *Eternal City*, the only remark which its magnificence elicited was one of surprise, that a people who possessed such palaces at home could think it worth their while to fight for the wretched hovels of Britain. Nor was he daunted when, with his wife, daughter, and brother, he was led before *Claudius*, who, seated on a lofty tribunal, with the Empress *Agrippina* beside him, and surrounded with *Prætorian* guards, and the senate and people in front, awaited his arrival. To the Emperor's credit, however, he received the valiant Briton with great kindness, restored him to liberty, and, as some have thought, from an expression in *Tacitus*, sent him back to Britain invested with princely power over a portion of the conquered territory. The defeat of *Caractacus* did not end the war with the *Silures*; that people merely changed their tactics, and, instead of meeting the Romans in the field, pursued a system of skirmishes. Hanging on the outskirts of their quarters, they cut off stragglers, intercepted supplies, interrupted communications, and in this way so effectually harassed *Ostorius*, that it is said he died of vexation at the ill success of his efforts. He was succeeded by *Aulus Didius*, who soon found himself at war with the *Brigantes*, who had rebelled against their queen, *Cartismandua*, an ally of the Romans.

*Caractacus  
before Clau-  
dius, A. D. 61*

*Aulus Didius.  
A. D. 63.*

*Veranius* came after *Didius*, but, dying soon after his

*Veranius.  
A. D. 64.*

Suetonius  
Paulinus,  
A. D. 60.

arrival, he was succeeded by Suetonius Paulinus, one of the ablest generals of the time. This commander, ascribing the obstinate resistance of the Britons to the influence of their Druids, resolved on the reduction of the island of Mona, or Anglesey, the head-quarters and chief retreat of that order. A strange sight met the eyes of the Romans as they approached the sacred isle. Mingled with the warriors, they beheld the Druids, with uplifted hands, devoting the invaders of their sanctuary to the god of war, and female forms, clad in sable garments, with their hair streaming in the wind, and lighted torches in their hands, rushing like furies with howlings and exclamations along the beach. The soldiers of Suetonius were for a time intimidated by this unexampled spectacle; but, exhorted by their general to despise such impotent threats, they advanced to the attack and gained a complete and almost bloodless victory. The captured Druids were burned in the fires which they had prepared for their enemies, their altars were overturned, their sacred groves cut down, and every mark and symbol of their religion, as far as possible, removed.

A. D. 60.

Boadicea.

A. D. 61.

During the absence of Suetonius on this expedition an incident occurred which, in its results, threatened with complete extinction the Roman power in Britain. Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, on his death-bed, had made the emperor joint-heir with his daughters in order more securely to insure the disposition of his property. The Imperial procurator, however, seized the entire inheritance, and, on the remonstrance of the king's widow, Boadicea, had herself scourged with rods and the person of her daughter violated. The enraged queen, burning for vengeance, proclaimed her wrongs, which found ready response from the sufferings, insults, and oppressions that everywhere marked the dominion of the conquerors. She was soon at the head of a formidable army, bent on the extermination of the invaders and their allies. The colony of Camalodunum was the first object of attack. On the first onset, the town was reduced to ashes, and the temple dedicated to Claudius as the subjugator of the Britons, and which offered a temporary protection to the garrison, was overturned. The ninth legion, under the command of Petilius, was overwhelmed by the multitude of the enemy. Suetonius had already returned to London, but deeming himself too weak to defend the town, he retired, accom-

panied by such of the inhabitants as sought his protection. The insurgents soon after arrived, and London shared the fate of Camulodonum; the municipal town of Verulam was similarly destroyed. Besides the seventy thousand reported to have perished in these scenes of massacre, numbers of unhappy captives were reserved for a still more cruel fate, immolation to Andraste, the goddess of victory. Meantime, Suetonius had collected from the different garrisons an army of ten thousand men, and with this force he resolved to give battle to the insurgents. Carefully choosing a position where he could only be attacked in front, he calmly awaited their approach. The contest was long and bloody, but victory at last remained with the Romans. Maddened by the British atrocities they took a terrible revenge; they gave no quarter, destroying not only those with arms in their hands, but also the women and children. Tacitus estimates the loss of the Britons on this occasion at eighty thousand, and observes, that measured by the test of numbers, the victory might be compared with the most splendid of ancient Rome. Boadicea refused to survive this defeat, and terminated her life by poison. At Rome, the obstinacy of the British resistance, which even this engagement did not entirely subdue, came to be ascribed to the severity of Suetonius, who, accordingly, was soon after recalled.

Defeat of the Britons.  
Death of Boadicea, A. D. 61.

Suetonius was succeeded by the Consul Turpilianus, who pursued, with great success, a policy of conciliation and humanity. The rebellious tribes returned to their obedience, and though the Roman conquests were not extended, the old limits were regained and consolidated. Turpilianus on his return to Rome, was rewarded by the Senate with triumphal honours in recognition of the skill and prudence of his government. His successor was Trebellius Maximus, whose conduct towards the natives was, like that of Turpilianus, one of kindness and moderation, but whose inactive and avaricious disposition so disgusted his own soldiers that they broke into mutiny, and after a time compelled him to flee for protection to Vitellius, who had assumed the imperial purple in Germany.

A. D. 61.

Turpilianus succeeds Suetonius.

A. D. 65.

Trebellius.

A. D. 69.

Vectius Bolanus sent over to replace him, though free from his personal vices, resembled him in his inactive policy and the precarious authority he enjoyed over the soldiery. To Vectius succeeded Petilius Cerealis, a brave soldier, who, after a year's hard fighting, succeeded in quelling the formidable insurrection of the Brigantes,

Cerealis defeats the Brigantes, A. D. 71.

**A. D. 78.** headed by Venusius, husband of Cartismandua. Julius Frontinus, who came after Petilius, reduced to submission the warlike nation of the Silures, or at least that portion of them inhabiting the Forest of Dean and the counties of Hereford and Monmouth. Julius was followed in his government by the renowned Cneius Julius Agricola, of whose achievements we have a full, though perhaps somewhat partial account, from the pen of his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus.

**Agricola.**  
**A. D. 78.**

The first campaign of Agricola was directed against the Ordovices, a people who had almost annihilated a body of Roman cavalry placed on their frontier. Summoning his soldiers from their winter quarters and placing himself at their head, he pursued the Ordovices into their fastnesses, and cut to pieces the greater part of them. His next enterprise was the re-conquest of the island of Mona, which, on the retreat of Suetonius to check the career of Boadicea, had rapidly recovered its liberty and become a chief place of retreat for the Britons. Being without vessels to cross the strait, he directed those of his army who knew the locality and were expert in swimming, to cross over to the island. The natives, having seen no preparation of ships, and deeming the passage of the strait otherwise impossible, surrendered without a blow. Returning full of glory from these expeditions, Agricola next devoted himself with equal energy to the work of reforming the civil administration of the province, and the morals and discipline of the army. The chief grievances of the natives—exorbitant taxes, being obliged to furnish grain at very distant stations, being carried far from home to work on the public roads and military works instead of being allowed to render such service near at hand, being obliged to re-buy their corn tribute at arbitrary prices, having their women exposed to the insults of the soldiery—were promptly taken into consideration and redressed.

Not only did he endeavour to win their attachment by removing grievances, he also sought to induce them by every means to conform to Roman customs and modes of life. British youth were instructed in the Roman language and learning, British chiefs were invited to take up their residences in the neighbourhood of the Roman towns. Gradually the dress and rude life of the natives gave way to the toga, and the temples, baths, and luxurious entertainments of their conquerors.

In his second campaign Agricola marched to the north- A. D. 79.  
west, where he brought some tribes, whose names are not  
recorded, into submission. It was his custom to erect  
ramparts and fortresses for the protection of his new con-  
quests.

In his third campaign he led his forces northwards to A. D. 80-1.  
the Tay, where he established strong garrisons and harassed  
the natives during the winter by incessant excursions.

In his fourth year he ran a line of fortresses across the A. D. 82.  
isthmus lying between the Friths of Clyde and Forth, re-  
maining master of all the territory on the south of that  
boundary.

In the following year, Agricola embarked with a con- A. D. 83.  
siderable body of troops on board a fleet, with which he  
sailed along the western coast of Scotland, landing at  
several points to procure information from the inhabitants.  
On his return from this cruise he quartered his forces on  
the west coast, to have them in readiness, as is supposed,  
for the invasion of Ireland, which, at the instigation of an  
exiled Irish chief, then in his camp, he is said to have  
meditated. In the sixth year of his government he ordered  
another fleet to sail along the east coast of Scotland, while  
he with his army marched in parallel direction along the  
shore. As he entered Caledonia he found the country in  
arms, and the appearance of the natives and reports of  
their valour so alarmed the Romans that many officers ad-  
vised a retreat south of the line of forts. This Agricola  
refused to do; but, dividing his troops into three bodies, he  
prepared to meet the enemy, which had now united their  
entire forces. The first attack was made on the ninth  
legion, and the Caledonians, having slain the sentinels, were  
engaged in a hand-to-hand encounter in the camp, when  
Agricola, having heard of what had happened, hastened  
up with a body of cavalry, and so taking the enemy front  
and rear, completely dispersed them.

The next year he sent another fleet northward to lay A. D. 84.  
waste the coast and distract the natives as to the place of  
attack, while he with the army followed soon after by land.  
As he advanced towards the Grampians he found the Cale-  
donians, to the number of about thirty thousand, drawn up  
in battle array, under the leadership of Galgacus, a chief  
whose skill and valour procured his election to the chief  
command. The Caledonian foot occupied the declivity of  
the hill, while the chariots and cavalry were posted on the



Battle with  
Calgacus,  
A. D. 84.

level plain. Agricola placed his legionaries in front of his camp, 8,000 auxiliaries in his centre, while 3,000 horse formed the wings. As long as they fought at a distance the natives had the best of the contest; their small targets were used with great dexterity in turning aside the Roman javelins, while showers of theirs did fatal execution among the Roman lines. But at close action their long, pointless swords, the want of cuirass, helmet, or other defensive armour than a small target, left them at a great disadvantage; and, accordingly, when they were attacked by the Batavian and Tungrian cohorts armed with short, pointed swords, they were compelled to give way, and, after the loss of ten thousand of their number, to fly to the woods. An attempt to attack the Romans in the rear was repelled by a reserve of cavalry, while the horse and chariots of the Caledonians were driven in confusion back on their infantry. The loss of the Romans in this battle is set down at 360. On the following day the victors beheld nothing but a vast solitude, with here and there the smoke of burning dwellings, but not a single living being.

Britain proved  
an island.

A. D. 85.

After this the army went into winter quarters, and Agricola ordered the fleet to sail round Britain, which it did, arriving at Sandwich (Portus Trululensis), whence it had set out; thus proving certainly that the country was an island.

For these exploits Agricola had decreed him the honour of a statue and the ornaments of a triumph; but the jealousy of Domitian soon after recalled him to Rome, which he entered as ordered, by night, and, after a rather cold reception by the emperor, sank into a private station.

During the government of Agricola the Roman conquest had reached its utmost limits in Britain. After his retirement all those districts north of the line of forts between the Clyde and Forth regained their freedom; indeed, Agricola himself does not seem to have thought it worth while to take any measures for their preservation. Under his rule, too, the process already referred to, of assimilating the Britons in dress, manners, language, and mode of life to the Romans, had regularly commenced, and the systematic government of the country as a Roman province was fully organised.

With the exception of occasional incursions of the Caledonians, little is heard of the history of the country till the arrival of the Emperor Hadrian. Judging from the testi-

mony of medals and inscriptions, he repelled the northern barbarians and regained the provinces which had been lost. Though regular history is silent as to his achievements, his visit is commemorated in the great work consisting of a ditch and rampart running between the Estuary of the Tyne and the Solway Frith, and which to this day bears the name of Hadrian's Dyke. This great fortification was sixty miles in length, and was defended, at regular intervals along the whole extent, by permanent bodies of troops.

Hadrian's visit to Britain, A. D. 120.

In the reign of his successor, Antoninus, troubles broke out among the Maætæ, dwelling north of the Dyke as well as among the Brigantes, who invaded the territories of the Ordovices. Both peoples were punished by the proprætor, Lollius Urbicus, who, in imitation of Hadrian, and in honour of his master, carried another like fortification from Kinneil on the Forth, to Alclud on the Clyde, a distance of thirty-six miles. It was called the Vallum of Antoninus, and numerous inscriptions record the troops by whom it was raised, and the portions appointed to particular corps.

Lollius Urbicus defeats Britons, A. D. 139.

A. D. 140

Wall of Antoninus.

This barrier, however, did not suffice to check the onsets of the fierce northern tribes, who frequently defeated the guards, and bursting through it, spread ruin and devastation throughout the northern portions of the Roman territory. In the reign of the Emperor Commodus, their incursions, combined with the mutinous and discontented spirit of the Roman soldiers, threatened the safety of the province. The vigour and ability of Ulpius Marcellus, the proprætor, drove back the invaders and restored discipline to the legionaries, but he himself narrowly escaped becoming a victim to the jealousy of the Emperor, and the resentment of his licentious soldiery. An extraordinary episode in the reign of Commodus, was the march to Rome of a deputation of 1,500 men from the British legionaries, to demand from the Emperor the head of the minister, Perennis, a favour which was readily granted by that weak and treacherous prince.

Marcellus, A. D. 183.

A. D. 186.

Clodius Albinus, the next proprætor, had the rank and title of Cæsar offered to him by the emperor; but, though he at first declined, after the death of Commodus and the short reigns of Pertinax and Julian, he accepted the same dignity on the invitation of the Emperor Severus. This, however, proved a fatal step, and Severus, who seems to have been desirous only to unmask the ambition of the

Severus defeated Albinus at Trevoux, A. D. 197.

proprætor, met him at Trevoux, near Lyons, where, after an obstinate contest, Albinus was defeated and afterwards beheaded.

Severus, now sole monarch of the Roman world, determined to reduce the power of the British proprætor, and for this purpose divided the country into two governments, one of which was conferred on Heraclianus and the other on Virius Lupus. The latter general was soon involved in hostilities with the Mæstæ and Caledonians, and was obliged to have recourse to the expedient of purchasing with money a temporary retreat. This, however, as might have been foreseen, but invited them to repeat their incursions, till at length Lupus became so harassed by their incessant attacks that he requested the presence of the emperor at the head of a large army.

A. D. 207.

Severus, accordingly, though old and in failing health, accompanied by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, set out for Britain. The emperor, on his arrival at York, immediately set about organising an expedition against the northern tribes, but as he advanced, his wary foes carefully avoided coming to a pitched engagement, but hanging on his flanks and rear, seized every opportunity of intercepting his supplies, interrupting his communications, and cutting off stragglers and detached parties. The difficulties of transit were also formidable; fordless rivers, impassable marshes, and pathless woods continually delayed the advance of the army. The Frith of Cromarty was at length reached, after an estimated loss, from all causes, of some fifty thousand men, and there the old emperor accepted the formal submission of the natives and an illusory surrender of a portion of their territory.

A. D. 210.

On his return from this expedition, Severus, to check future incursions of those marauders, built a wall of stone along the same tract of ground as that of Hadrian, and sufficiently near to the latter to be, in fact, a restrengthening of it. This defensive work of Severus was seventy-three miles long, and so solidly executed, that some historians speak of it as the greatest glory of that Emperor's reign. He died soon after at York, leaving the empire to his sons, Caracalla and Geta, who, having made peace with Mæstæ and received the oaths of the soldiers, set out with their father's ashes to Rome.

A. D. 211.

A. D. 284.

From the death of Severus to the accession of Diocletian,

there is almost complete silence among the Roman historians as to the affairs of Britain.

Towards the latter part of the third century a new danger threatened Britain in the fleets of Saxon pirates that about this time began to extend their depredations from the northern and western coasts of Gaul to the eastern coasts of the island. To guard against this new enemy, the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian appointed Carausius, a Menapian\* by birth, and distinguished for his bravery by land and sea, to the command of a powerful fleet, whose usual station was Boulogne. Though he everywhere defeated the pirates, it was observed that he generally was more active in intercepting their return when laden with booty than in preventing their landing. This, with other circumstances, such as his omission to inform the Imperial Government of the prizes he had taken, and his neglecting to restore to Roman citizens the property of which they had been plundered by the pirates, awakened the suspicion that he was in secret collusion with the enemy, and was amassing wealth with a view to some dangerous design of ambition. Accordingly, Maximian issued orders for his seizure and execution, but Carausius, having had timely notice, seized Boulogne, won over the fleet to his side, and embarked for Britain, where the troops proclaimed him Emperor. Expecting immediately to be attacked by the whole power of the empire, he did not hesitate to enter into an alliance with those piratical hordes whom it had been his duty to chastise. His power soon became so formidable that the two Cæsars, despairing of reducing him, acquiesced in his title, and accepted him as a colleague, or third Cæsar. Under him Britain became a great naval power. The pomp and state he assumed are evidenced by numerous medals and inscriptions. His career was cut short by the treachery of a friend, Allectus, who murdered him at York, A. D. 297, and had himself proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers. Carausius. A. D. 284.

This usurper reigned three years, when he was defeated and slain by Asclepiodotus, an officer of Constantius Chlorus, to whom, on the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian, Britain had fallen. Allectus.

A circumstance of some significance as to the later

\* There were several Menapias—among them, one in Germany, one in Ireland, and one in Wales—St. David's

history of the country is the appearance in the army of Allectus of large bodies of Franks and Saxons. It would thus seem that as early as the end of the third century Saxon soldiers had become acquainted with the interior of Britain.

Death of Constantius, A. D. 306.

Constantius, who passed most of his time in the country, and was much beloved by the natives, died at York, A. D. 306.

Constantius, while in a private station, had married Helena, according to some writers the daughter of Coil, King of the Cumbrian Britons, according to others, a native of Bithynia. By her he had a son, Constantine, afterwards surnamed the "Great," who, escaping from the Roman court on the first news of his father's illness, and maiming at every post-town through which he passed the horses not needed for his own flight, succeeded in eluding his pursuers, and reached York a few days before his father's death. Constantius received him with joy, and recommended him to the affection of the soldiers, by whom he was proclaimed Emperor. He assumed the titles of Cæsar and Augustus.

A. D. 306.

Civil Government of Britain under Constantine and his successors

Constantine continued the arrangement first made by Diocletian of dividing the whole empire into four parts, over each of which he placed a pretorian prefect. In this scheme Britain was subject to the authority of the Prefect of Gaul, but was immediately governed by a deputy of that officer, who resided at York, with the title of Vicar of Britain. Subordinate to him were the governors of the five provinces, the consulars of Maxima and Valentia, and the presidents of Flavia Cæsariensis, Britannia Prima, and Britannia Secunda. The sphere of the authority of these officers and their various inferiors included all civil and criminal matters, but military affairs were the subject of a distinct system of administration.

Military Government of Britain.

There were in the whole Roman Empire two generalissimos—one for the East and one for the West. Each of these had in his jurisdiction others under him. In Britain there were three general officers—the Count of Britain (*Comes Britanniarum*), the Duke of Britain (*Dux Britanniarum*), and the Count of the Saxon Shore (*Comes Littoris Saxonici*). The Duke, who had under his command 14,000 foot and 900 horse, had for duty to protect the country north of the Humber from the incursions of the Picts and Scots; the Count of the Saxon Shore, with a force of 2,200

foot and 200 horse, was to defend the coast from the Mouth of the Humber to Cornwall, against the irruptions of the Saxon pirates; while the Count of Britain, with 3,000 foot and 600 horse, exercised military authority throughout the rest of the country.

On the death of Constantine the Great, he was succeeded A. D. 337. by his three sons, but after a time the whole imperial authority became, by the death of his brothers, centred in Constantius.

This prince had sent into Britain a certain Spanish notary, Paulus, who committed numberless extortions on the people, despite all the efforts of Martin, then Vicar of Britain, to prevent him. At last, provoked by his rapacity and irritated by an insolent speech, in which he dared to tell the Vicar that he deserved to be put in irons for opposing the Emperor's commission, Martin struck at him with his sword, but missing him, plunged it immediately into his own heart. The conduct of Paulus was approved by Constantius, but in the reign of his successor, Julian, he was burned alive.

Tyranny of  
the Notary  
Paulus.

About this period is heard for the first time the names of the Picts and Scots. These terrible invaders made their first incursion into the Roman Britain in the reign of Constantius. Julian, then residing at Paris as Prefect of Gaul, sent thither Lupicinus, but this officer, for some reason, returned without having met the enemy.

First appear-  
ance of Picts  
and Scots,  
A. D. 360.

Contemporaneously with the appearance in history of the Picts and Scots is the disappearance therefrom of the old names of the Caledonii and the Maetæ. From the fact that there is no record of the extirpation or emigration of any tribe, as well as from a number of other reasons, Dr. Lingard concludes that the Picts are no other than these same Maetæ and Caledonii, reappearing under a new name.\* The Scots, by the concurrent opinion of all inquirers, had come from Ireland. It is known that down to the eleventh or twelfth century the name Scotia was confined to Ireland, and that it was not till after that period it came to be, as now, the name of the northern part of the island of Britain. Even the Highlanders of the present day claim descent from a band of Irish, who, about the middle of the third century, under the leadership of Carbry Riada, the chief of Dalraida, in Antrim,

\* Lingard, "*Hist. of England*," vol. i., p. 59, note.

**Dalriadic  
Kingdom.**

took possession of and settled in Argyleshire. To their new territory they gave the name of their Irish home—a name that continued to denote it when, about the beginning of the sixth century, that settlement had grown into the kingdom of the Dalreudini, or Dalriadic kingdom. When, in 843, Kenneth MacAlpine seized the throne of the Picts, this kingdom became that of all Scotland.

**Arrival of  
Theodosius.**

But whatever the origin of these nations, their inroads had become yearly more formidable, and that not merely because of their numbers and courage, but also from the arts they employed to weaken the discipline of the Roman soldiery by keeping spies in the Roman camps and seducing the auxiliaries by promises of a share of the booty. In the reign of Valentinian they penetrated as far as the right bank of the Thames, and seriously threatened the safety of the island. That emperor, having despatched one of his ablest generals, Theodosius, father of the emperor of that name, at the head of a considerable army, to repel the invaders, the danger was for the time averted. That general, landing at Richborough, in Kent, met and attacked several parties of the enemy. He entered London in triumph, where he rested some weeks, while preparing new enterprises. By an act of amnesty he won back the deserters to their standards, restored the ancient discipline of the army, and, in fact, did everything that a skilful commander could do to bring the forces under him to the highest state of military efficiency. The result was seen in the bloody defeats he inflicted on the foe, who now retired beyond the limits of the Roman territory. For these great services Theodosius was rewarded with numerous honours by Valentinian, while the grateful Britons, on his departure, accompanied him in sorrowing crowds to the shore.

**Maximus,  
Emperor.**

Gratian, the son of Valentinian, having succeeded his father in the empire, selected as his colleague in the purple Theodosius, the younger son of the general. His elevation awakened the envy of Maximus, an officer of ability and distinction, who forthwith set to ingratiate himself with the soldiery, and by various arts procured from them an offer of the title of Augustus. Though yielding with apparent reluctance to their entreaties, it soon appeared that nothing less than the whole western empire would satisfy his ambition. With the flower of the British army he sailed to the Rhine, and by the murder of Gratian and the

flight of Valentinian obtained possession of Gaul and the greater part of Italy. Theodosius, who had at first recognised him, was, however, afterwards induced to take the field against him; and Maximus, defeated and stripped of the imperial ornaments, paid with his head the forfeit of his ambition. The Britons who had accompanied him never returned,\* and their loss is assigned by the ancient historians as one main cause of the defenceless state in which the country was left, and which its inveterate enemies were not slow to take advantage of. Vast hordes of Picts and Scots burst through the northern barriers of the empire, and, meeting with little or no resistance, returned laden with the booty of the southern and more wealthy provinces. A temporary respite from these ravages was obtained by the aid of a body of troops despatched by Stilicho, which repelled the invaders and confined them within their own limits.

A. D. 388

About the year 400 a vast host of barbarians—Goths, Vandals, and Alans—under the leadership of the famous Alaric, poured into Italy from the passes of the Julian Alps. To resist them the imperial forces were withdrawn from the extremities of the empire; among others, the legion which guarded the Roman wall in Britain was recalled to Italy, and contributed to the total defeat inflicted on the barbarians by the celebrated Stilicho in the great battle of Pollentia. Though not expressly stated, it is probable that the legion, after the retreat of Alaric, returned to Britain, as we read of soldiers taking part in the elections and depositions of emperors in the island, two or three years later.

A. D. 400.  
Alaric invades  
Italy.

A. D. 403.

Towards the end of 406 another immense swarm of barbarians—Alans, Suevi, and Vandals—having crossed the Rhine, overspread Gaul, which they plundered and devastated in every direction, and, flushed with success, seemed next to threaten the invasion of Britain. The troops in the island, alarmed by this menace, and cut off from communication with Honorius, resolved on the election of an emperor for themselves; and in pursuance of this resolution, chose one Marcus, an officer of great repute among them. He was, however, soon after slain

Dec. 406.

Barbarians  
overran Gaul

\* It is said that the British warriors who accompanied Maximus after his defeat settled among their kindred in Armorica, and so helped that state to preserve its independence amidst the commotions of the time.



or dethroned, and one, Gratian, elected in his place, in a few months shared a like fate. Their next choice fell on a private soldier, recommended to them by no more weighty consideration than that his name was Constantine, which was thought to be of good omen.

Constantine justified this whimsical choice; he proved a man of vigour and ability; passed into Gaul, where he defeated the barbarians, had himself acknowledged in Spain, and accepted as a colleague by the Emperor Honorius. Constantine after a time associated his son Constans with him on the throne, and leaving him behind with an able general, Gerontius, prepared himself to march into Italy for the dethronement of Honorius. This latter emperor, however, seizing the occasion of a quarrel between Gerontius and his master, Constans, in which the latter was slain, destroyed the competitors; he had Constantine put to death, while Gerontius, hemmed in on all sides, terminated his own life rather than fall into the hands of his enemies.

A. D. 411.

A. D. 409.

A year or two before the death of Constantine, a new and more terrible irruption of the Picts and Scots compelled the Britons to take their affairs into their own hands and make provision for their own safety. A virtual revolution was effected; the Roman magistrates were deposed; the independence of the country was declared; and with the new-born spirit of freedom, the people rushed to arms and beat back their northern invaders. The Emperor Honorius, when he heard of these things, ambiguously wrote that the states of Britain should "provide for their own defence," an expression which may have been meant as a release from allegiance, or an approval of accomplished facts, that may seem to reserve the claim to their future obedience.

A. D. 411.

A. D. 410.  
Final Departure of the  
Romans.

The final departure of the Romans is supposed to have taken place in 409 or 410 A. D., after which the country became once more divided among a number of petty chiefs, who, under the title of kings, soon reduced it, by their jealousies and ambitions, to a deplorable state. To the misery of their rule were added the presence of famine and pestilence, and a more cruel and destructive irruption of their merciless enemies, the Picts and Scots.

The Britons, under these calamities, seem to have given way to despair; many abandoned the cultivation of their lands, betook themselves to a savage life, or lived in the

woods as robbers. One solitary victory over their enemies, the Picts, is recorded. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, having been sent over by the Pope on a mission connected with church affairs, was so moved with indignation at the cruelties of a band of these marauders then plundering the coast, that, placing himself at the head of a body of Britons, and rushing on the enemy with shouts of "Hallelujah!" he put them to complete rout. From the British war-cry, the battle is known as the Hallelujah Victory. That the sufferings of the unhappy country, however, had not ceased, is clear from the abject embassy which, some seventeen years later, it sent to Ætius, then for the third time prefect of Gaul: "To Ætius, thrice Consul, the groans of the Britons. The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the swords of the barbarians; so that we have nothing left us but the wretched choice of being either drowned or butchered." Ætius, however, then contending with the terrible Attila, could give them no aid.

Hallelujah  
Victory. A.D.  
419.

Britons' pos-  
ition to Ætius,  
A.D. 446.

The state of Armorica had, with the aid of the Saxons, preserved its independence, and this circumstance may have suggested to Vortigern, the most influential of the British princes, recourse to the same expedient. About three years after the embassy to Ætius, three Saxon chiules (keels) were cruising in the channel in quest of adventures. Their commanders, Hengist and Horsa, readily accepting the overtures of Vortigern to aid him against his enemies, and rely on his gratitude for their reward, landed on the shores of the Isle of Thanet, in Kent, at a spot since known as Ebbsfleet.

A.D. 449.  
The Saxons.

It is unknown who first introduced Christianity into Britain. The honour has been ascribed, on little or no evidence, to St. Peter, St. Paul, St. James, and others. It is, however, certain that at a very early period there were Christians in the island, a fact not very remarkable when we remember the constant intercourse that existed between it and Rome. From the reference in Tacitus to the strange and gloomy superstition of which Pomponia Græcina, wife of the Proconsul Plautius, was accused, it has been thought that that lady was a Christian. Another British lady, Claudia, the wife of the Senator Pudens, and the subject of a eulogistic epigram of Martial, is thought to be the same as the Claudia of whom St. Paul speaks. There is reason also to think that in spite of contradictions in the accounts we possess of the reign of

Christianity  
in Britain dur-  
ing Roman  
Period.

Lucius (Lever Maur, great light), a British prince, in alliance with, or in subjection to, the Romans, that there is substantial truth in the statement that he was not only a Christian himself, but that he sent to Pope Eleutherius, for ordination, some young men who were afterwards employed in preaching the Gospel within his territory. Tertullian, in his work against the Jews, written A. D. 209, says: "Even those places in Britain, hitherto inaccessible to Roman arms, have been subdued by the Gospel of Christ." Britain had its share of the persecution under Diocletian. It was then that St. Alban, its proto-martyr, and several others, whose names are not recorded, suffered for their faith. Constantius disapproved of the persecution, and though he could not prevent it, took means to indicate that disapproval. It is related how when he had called his Christian officers about him, and read to them the Imperial edict which compelled them to chose between their religion and their employments, those who made choice of the latter were ignominiously dismissed, the Emperor observing that he would never trust the fidelity of men who had betrayed their God. The persecution ceased in less than two years, on the resignation of Diocletian and Maximian. At the council of Arles, A. D. 314, three British bishops were present—Eborius, Bishop of York, Restitutus, Bishop of London, and Adelphius, Bishop of Richborough. As three bishops formed the full representation of a province, it would seem from this fact that the Church of Britain was on an equality with the Churches of Spain and Gaul.

In the fifth century, Pelagius and his disciples, Agricola and Celestius, disseminated their heretical opinions through Britain with such success that Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, came over to aid the British bishops to refute them. A public disputation was held at Verulamium (St. Alban's), whither Pelagius and his friends repaired with great pomp and an air of easy confidence; but though they supported their opinions with great show of rhetoric, they were completely overwhelmed and silenced by the learning and arguments of the Gallic bishops. Germanus paid a second visit to the island in company with the Bishop of Treves, A. D. 446, on which occasion he not only silenced the Pelagians, but procured the banishment of their leaders. At this time, too, he founded schools for the education of youths intended for the Church.

A. D. 303.

A. D. 314.

A. D. 419.

A. D. 446.

# ROMAN PROVINCES, WITH THEIR INCLUDED TRIBES.

I. <i>Britannia Prima</i> , between Kent and Cornwall.	{ Cantii. Regni. Bibroces. Atrebates. Segontiaci. Belgæ. Durohuges. Hædui. Carnabii. Damnonii.
II. <i>Flavia Cæsariensis</i> , between Thames, Severn, Mersey, and Humber.	{ Trinobantes, Iceni. Coritani. Cassii. Dobuni. Huicorii. Ancalites. Carnabii.
III. <i>Britannia Secunda</i> , or Wales.	{ Silures. Ordovices. Dimetæ.
IV. <i>Maxima Cæsariensis</i> , the modern six northern coun- ties.	{ Setanii. Valentii. Brigantes.
V. <i>Valentia</i> , between Wall of Hadrian and Wall of Anto- ninus.	{ "The Five Nations," viz. Ottadini. Gadeni. Selgovæ. Novantes. Dannii.
VI. <i>Vespasiana</i> , the country beyond Valentia.	{ Horestii. Vecturones. Taixali. Vacomagi. Albani. Attacotti.
VII. Other parts of Scotland.	{ Caledoni. Cantæ. Logi. Carnabii. Catini. Mertæ. Carnonanæ. Ceronæ. Creonæ. Epidii.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ROMAN PERIOD.

A.D.	Emperor.	Governor.	Occurrences.
40	Caligula.	...	Caligula receives Adminius, a fugitive son of Cuno-belinus.
41	...	...	Caligula's mock fight on the shore.
42	Claudius.	...	The Britons complain of Romans protecting fugitives.
43	...	Aulus Plautius.	Vespasian commands the second legion, under Plautius, while his son Titus served as military tribune in the island.
44	...	...	Arrival of Claudius, who, after a short stay, returns.
45	...	...	Vespasian, under Plautius, "conquers two powerful nations, twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight."
46	...	...	Pomponia Græcina, wife of Plautius, supposed to be the first Christian in Britain.
47	...	...	An inscription of this date to Claudius found.
49	...	...	Roman affairs in confusion in Britain.
50	...	Ostorius Scapila.	Succeeds Plautius and conquers the Brigantes.
51	...	...	Caractacus a prisoner, and sent to Rome.
52	...	...	Cartismandua seeks protection of Romans against her husband, Venustus.
53	...	A. Didius Gallus.	Succeeds Ostorius and carries on the war.
54	Nero.	...	
57	...	Veranius.	He dies within a year.
58	...	Suetonius Paulinus.	Succeeds Veranius.
60	...	...	Attempts reduction of Mona, Agricola under him.
61	...	...	Boadicea revolts, routs Cerialis, burns London and Verulam, but afterwards defeated.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued.*

A.D.	Emperor.	Governor.	Occurrences.
62	...	P. Turpilianus.	Turpilianus succeeds Paulinus.
65	...	Trebellius Maximus.	Treb. Max., his first campaign.
67	...	...	The fourteenth legion ordered out of Britain.
69	{ Otho. Vitellius. Vespasian.	Vectius Bolanus.	Vitellius sends back fourteenth legion.
71		Petilius Cerealis.	Cerealis reduces portion of Brigantes. — Vespasian advances Agricola in the army.
74	...	J. Frontinus.	Agricola leaves Britain.
78	...	Agricola.	Cuts off Ordovices and reduces Mona.—He erects garrisons and subdues Brigantes.
79	Titus.	...	Conquers beyond the Tay, and fortifies the west of the Brigantes.
80	...	...	
81	Domitian.	...	Fortifies isthmus between Clyde and Forth.
84	...	...	Defeats Galgacus. — His fleet sails round Britain.
85	...	S. Lucullus.	Britons revolt. Hadrian visits Britain and builds his wall.
117	Hadrian.	J. Severus.	
119	...	L. Priscus.	
120	...	...	
138	Antoninus Pius.	Lollius Urbicus.	Britons defeated by Urbicus.
139	...	...	
184	Commodus.	Marcellus.	Marcellus is sent against the Britons who have crossed the wall.
188	...	...	Perennis, commander of the army, is delivered up to mutinous soldiers.
189	...	Pertinax.	Insurrection of Britons. Severus visits Britain, defeats Britons, builds a wall across the island, and dies 211 A. D.
190	...	Claudius Albinus.	
197	...	Lupus.	
205	Severus.	...	
206	...	...	
211			

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued*.

A.D.	Emperor.	Governor.	Occurrences.
288	Diocletian and Maximian.	Lupus.	Carausius seizes Britain.
297	...	...	Allectus kills Carausius, and reigns three years.
300	Const. Chlorus and Galerius.	...	Allectus defeated and slain by Asclepiodotus.
307	...	...	Constantius dies in Britain, and Constantine succeeds.
355	Constantius.	Martinus.	
356	...	...	Paulus burned.
367	Valentinian and Valens.	Theodosius.	Theodosius defeats Scots who had invaded London.
410	Honorius.	...	Romans finally leave Britain.

## ROMAN CITIES AND TOWNS IN BRITAIN.

On the departure of the Romans, there were in Britain twenty-eight cities, besides a number of *castella*, or forts, and other small places. These cities were of different ranks: two were *municipia*, nine *coloniæ*, or colonies; while, of the remaining seventeen, ten are known to have possessed the *Jus Latium*, or Latin Right.

2 *Municipia*.

1. Eboracum ..... York.
2. Verulamium ..... St. Albans.

9 *Coloniæ*.

1. Camulodunum ..... Maldon or Colchester.
2. Rhotupisæ ..... Richborough.
3. Londinium Augusta .... London.
4. Glevum Claudia..... Gloucester.
5. Thermæ Aquæ Solis .... Bath.
6. Isca Silurum ..... Carleon, in Monmouthshire.
7. Camboricum ..... Chesterfield, near Cambridge.
8. Lindum ..... Lincoln.
9. Deva Colonia ..... Chester.

10 Cities having the *Jus Latinitatis*, or Latin Right.

1. Pterotone ..... Inverness.
2. Durnomagus ..... Caister, in Lincolnshire.
3. Victoria ..... Perth.
4. Lugabalia ..... Carlisle.
5. Cattaractone ..... Catterick.
6. Cambodunum ..... Slack, in Longwood.
7. Coccium ..... Blackrode, in Lancashire.
8. Theodosia ..... Dumbarton.
9. Corinum ..... Cirencester.
10. Sorbiodunum ..... Old Sarum.

To give some idea of the nature of the distinctions between the rights and duties of these classes of cities, it is necessary to grasp firmly the fact that the standard unit or whole of right was that possessed by Rome herself, and which was expressed by the term *Jus Quiritium*. This totality of right, this *jus quiritium*, was conceived as made up of parts so as to be capable of being conferred either on individuals or communities in less or fuller measure.

I. In the private order, as determining the rights of individuals in citizen relations one with another, the *jus quiritium* was conceived as including (1), the *jus connubii*, the right of contracting legal marriage; (2), *jus commercii*, the right of making valid contracts, and of acquiring and disposing of property; and (3), *factio testamenti*, right of making a valid will, which generally, though not necessarily, followed or accompanied the *jus commercii*.

II. In the public or political order, where the citizen is viewed in relation to the State, it included (1), the *jus honorum*, that is eligibility for dignities and magistracies; and (2), the *jus suffragii*, or right of voting in the various *comitia*, or elections.

These five elements of the *jus quiritium* (termed also *jus civile*, *jus civitatis*) might be conferred in whole or part upon persons or cities, and the proportion generally marked the class to which the person or city belonged. Starting from Rome herself as alone at first enjoying the full plenitude of the rights and privileges of her own law, the *optimum jus civium Romanorum*, as it was anciently called, the order of other cities, offshoots of her power, or recipients of her bounty, will be as follows:—

1. Rome.
2. *Coloniæ Romanæ*.



3. *Civitates liberæ*, { those enjoying *Jus Latii*.  
or *foederatæ* { those enjoying *Jus Italicum*.
4. *Latinæ*, or *Latini nominis coloniæ*.
5. *Municipia*.

*Coloniæ Romanæ* were modelled in all things on Rome itself. They had their senate (*curia*), their consuls (*duumviri*), their orders of patricians and plebs, and the private elements of the *jus quiritium*, *connubium*, *commercium*, *factio testamenti*, but did not enjoy the two public ones, the *jus honorum* or the *jus suffragii*.

*Civitates liberæ*, enjoying the *jus Latii*, were at first those Latin cities which, after the rigours of conquest and their transformation into Roman colonies, became friends and allies, and participated to a certain extent in the privileges of the mother city.

Those *civitates* of the *jus Italicum* were of later creation, and enjoyed less favourable terms of federation.

The *jus Latii* included *commercium* and *factio testamenti*, but did not include *connubium*, except in a few special cases. Those enjoying the *jus Latii* could, however, very easily acquire the character of Roman citizens, and so possess all the elements of the *jus quiritium*. This was their chief and distinguishing privilege, and one not possessed to the same degree by the possessors of the *jus Italicum*, which otherwise at its origin included, like the *jus Latii*, the two elements of *commercium* and *factio testamenti*. The term *jus Italicum* came, in the course of time, to signify certain concessions made to territories or cities outside Italy in relation to the land or soil. The *jus Italicum* represented, after the social war, the most favoured measure of territorial privilege to Italian soil (*Italicum solum*), being, as regards the application of the civil law, assimilated to the *ager Romanus* or that of Rome itself. The *jus Italicum* might be conferred in greater or less proportion on places beyond Italy.

*Municipia* did not derive their name, like the preceding, from any consideration of origin or geography, but from the constitution of the city, wherever situated. At first confined to Italy, *municipia* became extended to other countries as the tide of Roman conquest overflowed them.

The central idea in the constitution of a *municipium* is liberty to make and administer its own laws, limited only

by the condition that they must not clash with the terms of the *lex* or *formula* of their creation, or with the superior interests of Rome.

In spite of the freedom to which the municipals were left, they generally copied Rome both in law and administration; they had their *curia*, or senate, their *decuriones* or *curiales*, corresponding to patricians, and below them the plebs or common people. They had, too, their consuls, *duumviri* or *quatuorviri*, according to the number, besides ediles, censors, and quaestors, to look after matters of local finance and police. The measure of the *jus civitatis* enjoyed by a *municipium* depended on the terms of the act creating it. Some had granted them that *jus* in its entirety, and then the municipals became not only citizens of their own city but also citizens of Rome, and so might be said to have two fatherlands.

In the reign of Caracalla all the subjects of the empire acquired the rights of Roman citizens.

Though the rank of the *municipia* was not as high as that of the *colonia*, yet the great privileges of self-government and self-legislation came to outweigh all other considerations, and accordingly the *municipal* came to be regarded as the most valuable, and by consequence, the rarest form of constitution granted by Rome to her foreign settlements. Britain had, as we see, but two *municipia*, one of them, York, the seat of government.

#### ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN.

The principal of these were :—

1. Watling-street, which, starting from London, passed through St. Albans, Wroxeter on the Severn, then on to Chester, Chester to York, York to Bowness. This was a royal road in Saxon times, and acquired great importance from the fact that it was afterwards the chief boundary between the Saxons and Danes in the division of the kingdom made in 878, at the Peace of Wedmore, between Alfred and Guthrum. All north or east of Watling-street was Danish territory, Danelagh, or Dane law; all on the south and west was subject to the kings of Wessex.
2. Ermine-street, starting from London, passed through Bedford, Lincoln, on to York.

3. Akerman-street (or Akeman). From Bath till it met Watling-street, and so along it to London. Some think it passed through Wallingford.
4. Fosse Way. From Bath, *via* Leicester to Lincoln, and thence along Watling-street to York.
5. Ikenild Way. From Bath, north-east, crossing Watling-street, Maiden Bower, on to Caistor in Norfolk.
6. Ryknield, or Ryknild Way. This road for some distance from Bath coincides with the Fosse Way; it then diverges to the west and moves north-east, more or less parallel to Fosse Way, to York.
7. A road (the *via Devana*) connected Leicester with Chester (Deva).
8. A road passed almost due south from Chester through Abergavenny to Caerleon in South Wales.
9. Stone-street passed south from London to Southampton.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE SAXONS—449-1016.

THE Saxons, whom we have seen under the leadership of their chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, accepting the invitation of Vortigern, for a time faithfully performed their engagements to that prince. The Picts and Scots were driven back, and the grateful Britons were eager to reward the valour of their defenders. In the course of some half-dozen years, however, the great accessions made to the number of the strangers began to awaken the suspicion of the natives. The result was a mood of vigilance and jealousy on both sides, highly unfavourable to the preservation of peace. A demand for an increased supply of provisions by the Saxons, and which was refused by the natives, gave an ostensible pretext for the commencement of hostilities. The former took the offensive and marched to the Medway, but were resisted on their attempting a passage of that river at Aylesford. After an obstinate and bloody contest, in which Hengist lost his brother and Vortigern his son, the crossing was, however, effected, and the invaders pushed on westwards to the banks of the

Battle of  
Aylesford.

Cræy. Here another battle was fought, in which the Britons were totally defeated; four of their leaders were slain, and the survivors, fleeing to London, left the whole county of Kent in the possession of the conquerors. The British historian, Gildas, relates that after these victories the Saxons spread over the island without opposition, but that on their return, laden with booty, the natives rose and made a terrible slaughter of them. This incident has been doubted, but the fact that in some eight years afterwards another great battle, that of Wippedfleet, was fought, shows that the resistance of the Britons was still bold and vigorous. Though the Saxons lost their leader, Wypped, who gave his name to the scene of the encounter, they won a splendid victory, twelve British chiefs having been left dead on the field. The last battle of Hengist, A. D. 473, proved also a victory; the natives are said to have fled from their enemies as "from a devouring conflagration." Hengist died in 488, leaving the throne to his son, Oisc, from whom his descendants were called Oiscingas, "sons of the ash-tree."

Passage of  
the Cræy.

Battle of  
Wippedfleet.

A different account of this conquest is given by the British historian, Neunius, who wrote about 858; by him it is ascribed to the wiles and treachery of the enemy. At the royal banquet, at which Vortigern entertained the strangers, Rowena, the beautiful daughter of Hengist, modestly and gracefully approached the British monarch, bearing in her hand a golden goblet of wine; when she had come near to the king, she said to him in her Saxon tongue, "Waes heal hlaford conung"—"Health to thee, my lord king." Vortigern was so captivated by the charms of Rowena that he sought and obtained her in marriage, and, by way of reward, bestowed the kingdom of Kent on her father, Hengist. After a time, however, a dispute arose which it was proposed to settle in an assembly composed of 300 representatives of each nation. This was but a snare; at the pre-appointed signal-cry of Hengist, "Eu Saxones nimith eure saxes"—"You Saxons, draw your daggers"—an onslaught was made upon the Britons, of whom 299, all but Vortigern himself, fell victims in the treacherous and cowardly attack. While thus the Jutes, by craft or open force, were possessing themselves of Kent, new hordes of barbarians were on their way to the scene of slaughter and plunder.

British ac-  
count of the  
Conquest of  
Kent.

Treachery of  
Hengist.

In 477, a band of them, under Ælla, landed near Wither- A. D. 477. Ælla.

ing, in the island of Selsey, in Sussex. The Britons, in spite of an obstinate resistance, were defeated and obliged to take refuge in the adjoining forest of Andredswold, then two hundred miles long and some thirty wide. The stronghold of Andredes Ceaster detained them five years, the Britons rushing on their rear whenever they attempted an assault on the walls, and flying back to the shelter of the wood whenever the enemy faced about. At length Ælla, dividing his army in two, one to continue the siege, and the other to ward off the attacks on the rear, the fortress was captured and all the inhabitants pitilessly put to the sword; "nor was there one Briton left," is the expression of the Saxon chronicle. Its fall secured to Ælla the possession of the surrounding territory, which he formed into the kingdom of Sussex, or the South Saxons.

A. D. 480,  
Kingdom of  
Sussex found-  
ed.

Arrival of  
Cerdic,

Eighteen years after Ælla, another colony, under the leadership of Cerdic, one of the descendants of Woden, arrived off the island. The spot of his first landing is unknown, but has been supposed to be at or in the neighbourhood of Southampton. Cerdic was vigorously opposed by a British chief, Natanleod, and with such success that he was compelled to await the arrival of reinforcements. In 501 there came to his assistance Porta, with two chiules. This chief landed at Portsmouth after having slain a British prince who had opposed him. In spite of this aid, Natanleod continued to offer a vigorous resistance, and in 508, in a great engagement routed Cerdic himself; but in the pursuit that followed, being attacked by Cynric, the son of Cerdic, he was defeated, and with five thousand of his Britons perished in the field. In 514, Stuffa and Whitgar, nephews of Cerdic, arrived with three chiules; with these reinforcements the Saxons gradually extended their conquests till 519, when Cerdic, having won the great victory of Charford on the Avon, established the kingdom of Wessex, or the West Saxons.

A. D. 501,

A. D. 508,

A. D. 514,

Wessex  
founded,  
A. D. 519.

About 527, several bodies of Saxon and Anglian adventurers had begun to spread themselves over the eastern shore, between the Wash and the Thames. Of these a body of Saxons, under their chief, Ercenwin, founded the kingdom of Essex, or East Saxons, which later included the district of the Middle Saxons, now Middlesex.

These Angles, largely recruited by new arrivals, at a date not precisely known, chose Uffa for their monarch, and so founded the kingdom of East Anglia. The de-

East Anglia  
founded,

scendants of Uffa were called Uffingas. The power and numbers of this nation are illustrated by the fact that, as related by a contemporary historian, in the midst of their struggles in Britain, they were able to send out a powerful expedition to chastise a Rhenish prince who had offered an insult to the daughter of one of their chiefs.

In 547, an Anglian fleet of forty chiules under Ida, another descendant of Woden, arrived off the northern coast. After a stubborn resistance he succeeded in driving back the Bernician Britons, and built on a lofty promontory the castle or fortress which, in honour of his wife, Bebba, he called Bebbanburgh (the modern Bamborough). He was chosen king, and in 547 founded the kingdom of Bernicia, whose southern boundary was the Tees. Ida.  
Kingdom of Bernicia founded by Ida, A. D. 547.

To the south of this river another Anglian chieftain, Seomil, also defeated the natives, and Ælla, one of his descendants, in 560 founded there the kingdom of Deira, whose territory reached south as far as the Humber. Kingdom of Deira founded by Ælla, A. D. 560.

In 586, a colony from these Deiran Angles, under the leadership of Crida, crossed the Humber, and pushing their conquests south and west, founded the Kingdom of Mercia, which in time covered the remaining central part of the island. This was the last kingdom established, and thus the whole of Britain, divided into eight independent kingdoms, formed an octarchy, or state, containing eight supreme and distinct governments. But the common term *heptarchy*, though incorrect, as referring to the condition of things at this stage, came to be applicable later, when the originally separate kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia became united under the name of the Kingdom of Northumbria. A. D. 586.  
Kingdom of Mercia founded by Crida.

The accompanying table contains the founder, date, and extent of these several states :—

date.	Name.	Founder.	Position and extent.	Resistance and other particulars.
455	Kent.	Hengist.	Modern Kent.	Britons headed by Vortigern, and it is supposed by Ambrosius.
490	Sussex.	Ælla.	Counties of Sussex and Surrey.	Established on the capture of Andred.

TABLE—*continued*.

Date.	Name.	Founder.	Position and extent.	Resistance and other particulars.
519	Wessex.	Cerdic.	Country sth. of the Thames except the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and Cornwall.	Established after the great battle of Charford on the Avon. Natanleod, the British king, long and successfully resisted Cerdic; Arthur is also thought to have opposed him.
527	Essex.	Ercenwin.	Counties of Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herts.	
547 560	Bernicia { Northumbria. Deira }	Æthelfrith.	From the Humber to the Forth and east of the Cumbrian range of mountains.	This kingdom was formed by the union of the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, the former founded in 547 by Ida, and the latter by Ulla in 560. Ida was opposed by Urien and his son, Owen, chiefs of Reged in Strath Clyde.
?	East Anglia.	Uffa.	Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridge.	This territory was first overrun by a number of independent chiefs, so that the date of its formation into a kingdom is unknown.
586	Mercia.	Cridda.	Remaining central counties.	Mercia is derived by some from the <i>marches</i> or borders to which it extended, by others from the <i>marshes</i> of their German home.

The three tribes, Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, among whom Britain thus became portioned, appear to have formed at first but one nation, with the same language and governed by the same race of monarchs, the descendants of their deified king, Odin or Woden. The Jutes and Angles dwelt in Jutland, the "Cimbric Chersonesus," and in the neighbouring Holstein, in which latter country there is still a district termed *Anglen*. The home of the Saxons was at first near that of the Jutes; Ptolemy places them in the Cimbric Chersonesus, but they afterwards occupied the whole region lying between the mouths of Elbe and Weser. As to the portions of conquered Britain that fell to their respective shares, the Jutes, though the first settlers, had the smallest extent of territory, Kent, the Isle of Wight, and the strip of the Hampshire coast opposite to it. The Saxon kingdoms are indicated by their names, Sussex, Wessex, Essex; the remaining kingdoms, Bernicia, Deira, East Anglia, and Mercia, were all founded by Angles.

Continental  
homes of the  
invading  
tribes.

Portions of  
Britain occu-  
pied by them.

The Saxons were distinguished from other barbarians for their height, their strength, and the ferocity of their disposition. They rejoiced in the midst of the tempest, because they expected then more easily to surprise their prey. A contemporary historian thus speaks of them:—"Dispersed into many bodies they plundered by night, and when day appeared, hid themselves in the woods, where they feasted on their plunder." Their dress was a loose linen vest, over which was a *sagum*, or cloak; their arms were a small shield for the left arm, battle-axe, spear, and long sword. Some of their horsemen are said to have carried long iron sledge-hammers, a weapon with which Thor was often represented.

Appearance  
and habits of  
the Saxons

The Saxon Conquest of Britain differed in some important respects from the barbarian conquests in other provinces of the Roman Empire.

1. Elsewhere the invaders adopted the religion and language of the vanquished people; in Britain the victors retained their language and continued heathen, or at least till Christianity reached them from without.

Differences  
between the  
Saxon Con-  
quest of Bri-  
tain and  
other Teu-  
tonic Con-  
quests.

2. So, while in the other provinces the beautiful and symmetric system of Roman Law continued to regulate the affairs of the subject people, and often beside the barbaric codes of their masters, in England Roman Law never took any root among the Saxons; like their language, their laws, however rude, were unmixedly national.



3. In other countries, too, local nomenclature, names of mountains, rivers, lakes, as well as cities and towns, remained but little affected by their subjugation; while in Britain, with few exceptions, this was reversed, the names given by the invaders overlaying and obliterating those of the elder people.

4. A fourth peculiarity is the extreme obstinacy and great duration of the struggle. Britain was fought for and defended bit by bit, while on the Continent a decisive battle or two induced the people to lay aside all further resistance.

Some British warriors distinguished by their opposition to the Saxons.

It may be well to give here the names of a few of those British and Roman chiefs who, during this long and sanguinary struggle, distinguished themselves in defence of liberty and country.

Ambrosius.

The earliest mentioned is *Ambrosius*, of Roman descent, brave, faithful, and devoted; who, according to Gildas, defeated the Saxons, as laden with the plunder of the interior they were returning to the coast. He was slain in a private quarrel.

Natanleod.

*Natanleod*, who so valiantly resisted Cerdic, is commemorated in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 508:—"This year Cynric and Cerdic slew a British king whose name was Natanleod, and five thousand men with him. After this was the land named Netly from him, as far as Charford."

Urien.

*Urien*, a Cumbrian chief, who fought against Ida, is renowned in the songs of the bards. Taliesin calls him "the head of the people," "the shield of warriors," "the most generous of men," "bounteous as the sea, the thunderbolt of the Cymry." Urien seems to have sometimes defeated Ida, if any reliance is to be placed on the glowing strains of his bardic friends, Taliesin and Llywarch. Urien perished by the treachery of another British chief, and was succeeded by his son Owen. This prince was worthy of his father, and if we may trust Taliesin, it was by his sword that Flamddwyn (the Destroyer), as the bards call Ida, perished in the flower of his age.

Owen.

Arthur.

But the most famous of all the champions of the Britons is Arthur. It is, however, entirely unknown what, if any, amount of historic truth underlies the vast mass of glorious fiction with which the imaginations of the bards have surrounded his name. The prevailing opinion is that the exploits of Arthur were performed against Cerdic, and that the great and important victory of Mount Badon,\* which

\* Supposed to be Bath.

checked the Saxon career of conquest for forty years, was won under his leadership. It was the last of twelve battles which he is said to have fought against the enemy. Like Urien, Arthur\* perished ingloriously in a civil feud with his nephew, Medrawd.

The great number of independent kings and other subordinate potentates, as well as the obvious desirability of presenting a united front to their enemies, the Britons, as well as the Picts and Scots, seem, at an early period, to have suggested to the Saxons the idea of a common head, of some one preponderant prince, who was to exercise a certain authority over the whole or greater part of the nation. Whether from these motives or from an ambition to imitate the style and dignity of the Roman emperors,† it is agreed that certain Saxon monarchs did, under the name of Bretwaldas, enjoy some such authority. Bede names seven of these princes, other historians add an eighth. To the reigns of these may conveniently be referred, not only the events in their own kingdoms, but also those of the other contemporary states. Six of the kingdoms of the octarchy, all except Mercia and Essex, contributed to the list of Bretwaldas. The following list gives name and kingdom of those who held that rank in succession.

Origin and  
meaning of  
Bretwaldas.

List of Bret-  
waldas.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Kingdom.</i>
1. Ælla, . . . . .	Sussex.
2. Ceawlin. . . . .	Wessex.
3. Ethelbert, . . . . .	Kent.
4. Redwald, . . . . .	East Anglia.
5. Edwin, . . . . .	Northumbria.
6. Oswald, . . . . .	Northumbria.
7. Oswio, . . . . .	Northumbria.
8. Egbert, . . . . .	Wessex.

*Ælla, first Bretwalda.*—From the meagre references to

\* In 1189, the remains of Arthur were discovered in Glastonbury Abbey at a place indicated to Henry II. by a Welsh bard. At some distance below the surface a leaden cross and stone were found, with the inscription, "Hic jacet sepultus inclytus rex Arthurus in insula Avallonia." Sixteen feet below this was found an oaken coffin containing human bones of an unusual size, the leg-bone being, according to Cambrensis, who himself handled it, three fingers longer than that of the tallest man present at the time. The remains were placed in a magnificent shrine in front of the high altar by order of Edward I., who, with his queen, visited Glastonbury to see them.

† The opinion of Sir Francis Palgrave.

the name of this prince, it is difficult to understand the cause of his pre-eminence. The narrow limits of his kingdom, and the fact that besides it only one other kingdom, that of the Jutes in Kent, then existed, leads Sir F. Palgrave to believe that the dignity was assumed in imitation and continuation of that of the Roman emperors.

*Ceawlin of Wessex, Second Bretwalda.*—Ceawlin was the grandson of Cerdic, the founder of the Wessex Kingdom. His claim to Bretwaldaship was contested by Ethelbert of Kent, who, as successor of Hengist, thought himself entitled to that dignity. At a great battle fought at Wimbledon, Ethelbert was, however, totally defeated, and narrowly escaped with his life. Ceawlin next turned his arms against the British, whom he defeated, first at the battle of Bedford (A. D. 571), and again at the battle of Derham, in Gloucester (A. D. 577). On the death of Cissa, the son of Ælla, the Kingdom of Sussex was added to his dominion. Ceawlin was slain at the battle of Woodensburg, in Berkshire, fought against him by his rebellious subjects, assisted by Anglians and Britons.

*Ethelbert, Third Bretwalda.*—On the death of Ceawlin, Ethelbert became Bretwalda. The chief event in the reign of this prince is the arrival, by order of Pope Gregory the Great, of Augustine and his band of missionaries, for the conversion of the country. Ethelbert had married Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of the Franks. This princess was a Christian, and had, before her marriage, stipulated for the free exercise of her religion in her new home. It may have been through her suggestion or influence that Augustine first made application to Ethelbert rather than to any of the other Saxon kings. Ethelbert received the missionaries under an oak, being advised by his pagan priests that to receive them in a house might expose him to the spells of the foreign magicians. The ceremony of introduction was impressive. Before Augustine was borne a silver cross, and a banner representing the Redeemer, while following in procession came the other missionaries, singing anthems. The king, having interpreted to him the object of the mission, replied: "Your words are fair, but they are new and uncertain. I cannot, therefore, abandon the rites which for so long a time, I, with the whole nation of the Angles, have observed. But, as you have come so far to communicate to us what you believe to be true and most excellent, we shall not molest you. We

Arrival of  
Augustine  
and his mis-  
sionaries.

A. D. 568.

A. D. 571.

A. D. 577.

will receive you hospitably, and supply what you may need. Nor do we forbid any to join your religion whom you may be able to persuade to prefer it."

Through the care of the queen, a residence had been prepared for the mission—the old church of St. Martin, in Canterbury, which had been dedicated during the Roman occupation, was set apart for their accommodation. They lost no time in setting about the work for which they had come, and of the crowd of Saxons who first flocked to their preaching and services from mere curiosity, many were so attracted by the new doctrine, and so impressed with the innocent lives of its teachers, that they believed and were baptised.

In 597, Ethelbert himself was baptised, in which he was followed soon after by vast numbers of his subjects. The conversion of the king naturally facilitated the work of the missionaries, which went on now with increased vigour and success. Augustine was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by the Archbishop of Arles, and at once set about organising his new diocese. Another church of the Britons, that of St. Saviour, was restored, while a new monastery, dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, was erected outside the walls for the use of the monks.

Next to that of Kent followed the conversion of Essex. The king of that people, Saberet, a nephew of Ethelbert, on the advice of his uncle, received a missionary. was baptised, and, in conjunction with Ethelbert, defrayed the expense of a new cathedral built at London, of which Mellitus, who had converted him, became first bishop.

Ethelbert, some time before his death, which took place in 616, promulgated a code of laws for the better administration of justice among his people. From this it appears that freemen were classed according to their property, and that a money compensation, varying with the rank of the person injured, was a fundamental principle in their criminal jurisprudence.

*Redwald, Fourth Bretwalda.*—Redwald, one of the descendants of Uffa had, through recommendation of Ethelbert, become a Christian. His wife and subjects disliked this step, and by way of compromise, Christianity and Paganism were both tolerated. The history of Redwald involves reference to that of Ethelfrith of Northumbria. This prince, at first King of Bernicia, on the death

Conversion of  
Kent.

Conversion of  
Essex.

A. D. 588.

Destruction  
of Monastery  
of Bangor.

of his father-in-law, Ælla, King of Deira, seized upon this latter state, to the exclusion of a child, Edwin, the rightful heir. This young prince had been placed for safety with Cadvan, King of North Wales, with whom he remained till he grew to man's estate. This wardship brought down on Cadvan the vengeance of Ethelfrith, and in a great battle near Chester the Britons were totally defeated, and the monks of Bangor, who, unarmed, had assembled to pray for the victory of their people, were ruthlessly slaughtered, the savage monarch observing, "If they pray, they fight against us." Their famous monastery, the great centre of British learning, was entirely destroyed. On the defeat of his protector, Edwin sought refuge with the Bretwalda Redwald, who, after much vacillation, resolved to venture a battle with the tyrant rather than surrender his young friend. The result was fortunate; Ethelfrith was defeated and slain, and the united kingdom of Northumbria with joyous acclamations received Edwin for their king.

*Edwin, Fifth Bretwalda.*—Edwin, thus restored to his throne, seems to have very early acquired the distinction of Bretwalda. He had married a Christian princess, the daughter of Ethelbert, who, on going northward, took with her Paulinus, a Roman missionary. The king himself for a long time remained unmoved by the arguments and solicitations of Paulinus and the queen, till at last, having resolved to chastise the King of Wessex, who through an assassin had attempted his life, he promised that should he return victorious he would receive baptism. He accordingly set out with a powerful army; the Wessex princes were defeated and slain, and their country ravaged by the victors.

On his return, reminded by Paulinus of his promise, he still hesitated, but after much balancing of arguments he professed himself a Christian.

Among those consulted before this step was Coiffi, pagan high-priest, who, to the king's surprise, approved his intended change in the following terms: "Judge you, O king, of that which is now announced to us; but I must truly confess to you that the religion which we have hitherto followed has neither power nor utility, for not one of your subjects has more diligently attended to the worship of the gods than I, and nevertheless there are many who have received from you greater benefits and

greater honours, and prosper more in all their undertakings, whereas if the gods were worth anything, they would rather favour me, who have so zealously served them." Coiffi, soon after being converted, led the way on horseback to the destruction of the temples and statues of his former ungrateful deities.

With the conversion of Edwin, a great impetus was given to the spread of Christianity. A church, dedicated to St. Peter, was erected at York, which was created an archiepiscopal see, with Paulinus for its first archbishop.

The authority of Edwin extended over every part of the country; it was acknowledged by Celt and Saxon alike. The islands of Man and Anglesea were also subject to his power. His administration of the laws was just and vigorous. "In the days of Edwin," says Bede, "a woman with a babe at her breast might have travelled over the island without suffering an insult." Drinking fountains, with brazen cups attached, were set up on the main roads for the convenience of travellers.

About this time the aged King of East Anglia retired into a monastery, giving the first example of an Anglo-Saxon royal monk. His kingdom being soon after attacked by Penda, the warlike King of Mercia, the aged monarch was prevailed to return once more and lead his people against the enemy. He did so, but deeming it improper to wear a sword, he directed the military operations with no other weapon than a wand. His army was, however, defeated, and he and his brother slain.

Penda, King of Mercia, had resisted the authority of Edwin, and uniting his forces with those of Cadwallader, the son of Cadvan, King of Gwynedd, or North Wales, gave battle to the Northumbrian army at Hatfield Moor, in Yorkshire. The Mercians were victorious, and Edwin and his son, Osfrith, were among the slain. Cadwallader, with his Britons, remained to carry out a threat of exterminating the Northumbrians, while Penda, with his idolatrous army, marched against the King of East Anglia, whom he defeated and slew.

*Oswald, Sixth Bretwalda.*—This prince was a nephew of Edwin, and united in his own person the claims of the royal families of Deira and Bernicia. Seeing the ravages committed by Cadwallader and his Britons, he assembled a small army, and having erected a wooden cross, commanded his soldiers to kneel; then, offering up a fervent

Conversion of  
Northumbria.

Penda in-  
vades East  
Anglia.

A. D. 633.

Penda and  
Cadwallader  
invade North-  
umbria: Ed-  
win is slain.

A. D. 635.

Oswald de-  
feats and slays  
Cadwallader.

prayer to God to deliver them from their insolent enemies, he arose and led his force to a splendid victory, in which Cadwallader himself was slain. This redoubtable warrior is the subject of many bardic eulogies, pitched in a strain little lower than those relating to Arthur himself. He is said to have encountered the Saxons in fourteen battles and sixty skirmishes.\*

Labours of  
Bishop Aidan  
among North-  
umbrians:  
Founda- the  
the Abbey of Lin-  
disfarne.

Oswald, secure on the throne, devoted all his energies to the conversion of his people. He was assisted by Aidan, an Irish monk, who was consecrated bishop, and received from the king the island of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, in which he built a monastery. By the efforts of Aidan and several other pious monks, Northumbria in a short time became entirely Christian.

Battle of Ma-  
serfield and  
death of Os-  
wald.

Penda, its relentless and pagan foe, soon after involved Oswald in a war which proved fatal to him as to Edwin. In a great battle fought at a place called Maserfield,† the Northumbrian monarch fell, crying out as he did so, "Lord, have mercy on the souls of my people."

The character of Oswald included almost every virtue; he was humble, charitable, and full of active piety. He ruled over the "Four Nations," the Angles, Picts, Cymri, and Scots. The highest testimony to his character is the epithet "Bounteous-hand," bestowed on him by the Britons: "a singular testimony of respect shown to a sassenaeh sovereign."‡

*Oswio, Seventh Bretwalda.*—Oswio, the brother of Oswald, was like him distinguished by his abilities; but his reign was disturbed by the claim of Oswin to the throne. A compromise was effected, and Oswin received and accepted the kingdom of Deira. In some six years, however, a quarrel broke out, and Oswin, delivered up by a treacherous follower, was by Oswio's orders put to death. For this cruel act he afterwards endeavoured to atone by

\* An elegy on him, composed in his old age by the bard Llywarch, tells us :

"Fourteen great battles he fought,  
For Britain the most beautiful,  
And sixty skirmishes.

Cadwallon, encamped on the Yddon,  
The fierce affliction of his foes,  
The lion prosperous against the Saxons."

See Turner, "Hist. Eng.," vol. i., p. 364.

† Probably Oswestry, in Shropshire.

‡ Sir F. Palgrave's "Hist. of Anglo-Saxons."

founding a monastery on the spot where the murder was perpetrated.

But Oswio's greatest achievement was the overthrow of Penda. This fierce monarch, surnamed the "Strenuous," came to the throne of Mercia, in 633, at the age of fifty, and reigned thirty years. He was the last upholder of paganism among the Saxons, though the ally of a Christian and British king. We have seen how he assailed Northumbria and other states, and though he slew five kings (Sigebert, Egeric, and Anna of East Anglia, and Edwin and Oswald of Northumbria), yet seemed to obtain no permanent advantage; the dignity of Bretwalda, which he coveted, he never reached.

Though a double marriage connected his family with that of Oswio, he, nevertheless, invaded that monarch's dominions. The Northumbrian king, with the fate of Edwin and Oswald before his eyes, sought to avert the danger by numerous presents, making even an offer of tribute and submission. His proposals were rejected, and his presents scornfully distributed by Penda to his auxiliaries. Nothing remained to Oswio but the resistance of despair, and so collecting a small but trusty band of followers, he prepared to meet the invaders. In the contest that ensued the Northumbrians were successful; the hoary Penda, then in his eightieth year, and borne along by his fugitive Mercians, was overtaken and slain. This battle was fought on the banks of the Winwid, or Aire, at a place called Winwidfield, near Leeds. From the crowds who were drowned in the river arose the saying: "In Winwid's stream was revenged the death of Anna, the deaths of Sigebert and Egeric, and the deaths of Edwin and Oswald."

Penda is defeated and slain, A. D. 655.

A. D. 655.

The death of Penda opened the way for Oswio's ambition. He annexed Mercia to Northumbria, but the connection was not lasting. In his reign Ireland and Britain were devastated by the ravages of a strange disease known as the *Yellow Plague*. Among its first victims were many of the noblest and most distinguished persons in the kingdom, and in Ireland it is said to have carried off two-thirds of the population. Oswio died in 670, and was succeeded by his son Egfrid. This prince despatched hostile expedition to the coasts of Ireland, a country then regarded with peculiar veneration by Northumbrians, not only as the holy land of religion and learning, but also as their own *spiritual mother*, the loved home of Columba.



and of Aidan. They were accordingly shocked at their king's ingratitude and impiety, and did not hesitate to ascribe to the vengeance of heaven his defeat and death soon after in a battle with the Picts, fought at Drumnechtan, in Fife.

A. D. 685.

Egfrid was involved in a long quarrel with Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, whom he expelled from his see. The quarrel continued through the reign of Aldfrid, but after his death a compromise was effected.

From the death of Aldfrid nothing but anarchy, treachery, and bloodshed marks the history of Northumbria, till in the year 867 the dynasty was totally extinguished by the Danes.

While the political influence of Northumbria had thus been declining through anarchy and faction, the two kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex rapidly advanced in power and importance. Mercia, after the death of Penda, was for a time subject to Northumbria; but the people soon after rose, and expelling the Northumbrian magistracy, placed Wulfere, the son of Penda, on the throne. Wulfere reduced to dependence the kingdoms of Essex and East Anglia, and became the most powerful prince south of the Humber. In his reign idolatry disappeared from Mercia, while Essex, which had relapsed during the yellow plague to the worship of Woden, and Sussex, the last pagan state in Britain, were both converted to the Christian faith. He was succeeded in the government by his brother Ethelred, who married the sister of the King of Northumbria, and having subdued Kent, resigned in favour of his nephew, Cœnred, son of Wulfere, and died himself abbot of the monastery of Bardeney, A. D. 716. Cœnred, like his uncle, resigned the crown after a peaceful and prosperous reign, and was succeeded by Ceolred, the son of Ethelred. Ceolred's reign was, in the main, peaceful, but after a time he was stricken with insanity, when Ethelbald, a descendant of Penda, succeeded. Ethelbald, though his private morals were licentious, was yet charitable to the poor and rigid in his administration of justice. He invaded Wessex, and, in 733, captured Somerton, the chief town of that kingdom.

Wulfere of  
Mercia.

A. D. 733.

Under Ethelbald, Mercia had reached a power beyond anything it had previously attained. He styled himself "King, not of the Mercians only, but of all the neighbouring peoples who are called by the common name of Southern English." In a charter of his of the year 736,

he styles himself "King of the Britons." In 752, in a battle with the West Saxons, he had, in a panic, ignominiously fled from the field of Burford, but in the battle of Secandun, fought three years afterwards (755) he bravely met his death, and the Mercian throne after a few months was occupied by Offa, surnamed the Terrible.

A. D. 752.

A. D. 755.

This prince, a descendant of Penda, having subdued his domestic enemies, first turned his arms against the King of Kent whom, at the battle of Darent, he utterly defeated. Wessex next became the object of his hostility; the Wessex monarch retired before him, and the left bank of the Thames was added to his territory. Offa next turned his attention against the Britons, whom he defeated and drove beyond the Wye. The country between that river and the Severn was planted with Saxons, while, from its mouth to the estuary of the Dee, he had erected a trench and rampart one hundred miles long, and whose remains to our day are known by the name of Offa's Dyke. The Northumbrians also, though the exact time is unknown, were obliged to acknowledge his superiority. One great crime, the murder of Ethelbert, the King of East Anglia, while a guest at his palace as suitor for the hand of his daughter, stained his name and clouded his latter days with remorse. For this act he made such reparation as he could, and not only erected a stately tomb over the remains of his victim, but made a large grant of land to the church of Hereford, in which they lay. The chief ecclesiastical monument of his reign was the magnificent monastery of St. Alban's, founded by him A. D. 794.

A. D. 774.

Offa the Terrible.

In the reign of Offa (785) two papal legates arrived in England with a code of regulations drawn up by the Pope for the government of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Two synods were held, one in Northumbria and one in Mercia, at the latter of which Offa was present. Through his influence the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury was restricted and the see of Lichfield raised to the rank of an archbishopric, with authority over all prelates between the Thames and Humber.

A. D. 785.

An annual donation of 350 mancuses\* to the Church of St. Peter at Rome, partly to defray the expenses of worship and partly to aid indigent pilgrims, promised by this king on behalf of himself and successors, has by some

\* The mancus was worth thirty pennies.

been regarded as the first instance of Peter's Pence in England.

Through the mediation of Alcuin, an eminent Northumbrian scholar then residing at the court of Charlemagne, a correspondence was opened between that monarch and the Mercian king. In it Charlemagne, while styling himself "the most powerful of the kings of the East," concedes to his correspondent the title of "the most powerful of the kings of the West." Offa died in 796, and was succeeded by his son, Egferth, who had for some time previously been united with him on the throne.

A. D. 796.

Egferth, after a reign of a few months, was succeeded by Cenulf. This prince defeated and deposed Eadbert, who, on the extinction of the royal line of Hengist, had usurped the throne of Kent, and conferred that kingdom on Cuthred, one of his own creatures. In Cenulf's reign and through his influence, the see of Lichfield was reduced and its bishop once more became suffragan to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Cenulf perished in a battle against the East Anglians, after a vigorous and prosperous reign of twenty-three years, A. D. 819, and was succeeded by his brother Ceolwulf, who, after a short reign of two years, was deposed by a usurper named Beornwulf. But the fortunes of Mercia were now rapidly on the wane; Beornwulf, in a great battle fought at Ellandune, in Wiltshire, was defeated by Egbert, King of Wessex, to whom soon after Mercia was made tributary.

A. D. 819

Battle of  
Ellandune

Wessex had, as we have seen, contributed one name, Ceawlin, to the list of Bretwaldas. Ceawlin was succeeded by Ceolric, his nephew, who, after a short reign of five years, was followed by his brother, Ceolwulf. The reign of Ceolwulf was marked by constant hostilities with Saxons, Britons, Picts, and Scots. Mowric, King of the Britons, having been defeated by Ceolwulf, his indignant subjects, ascribing his reverse to his incapacity, and reproachfully reminding him that his father, Tewdric, had never shown his back to an enemy, deposed him from his command, and having prevailed on Tewdric himself to leave the hermit's cell, whither he had retired, and place himself once more at their head, confidently attacked the Saxon army and gained a splendid victory. The battle, which was fought at the confluence of the Wye and the Severn, was fatal to the aged and victorious hermit, who received a mortal wound in the head, and was buried at a place called in

The British  
king, Tewdric,  
defeats the  
Saxons.

commemoration of him, Mathern, that is Merthyr (martyr) Tewdric.

Coelwulf was succeeded by his nephews Cynegils and Quichelm. In their reign Penda invaded Wessex; but in the indecisive battle of Cirencester, in which the brothers encountered him, he met so vigorous a resistance that he readily agreed to terms of accommodation. Cynegils and Quichelm were the first Christian monarchs of Wessex. On the death of Cynegils, the survivor, in 642, Coinwalch, his son, succeeded. His repudiation of his first wife, a sister of Penda, brought on him the vengeance of that monarch, by whom he was chased out of his kingdom. After a three years' exile at the East Anglian court he regained his kingdom, and though victorious against the Britons, whom he drove beyond the Parret, which he made the western boundary of Wessex, he was defeated by Wulfere of Mercia, son and successor of Penda. Coinwalch, dying childless, his widow, Sexburga, seized and held the reigns of government for nearly a year. She is the first example of a female sovereign among the Saxons. On her death she was succeeded by Centwin, brother of Coinwalch, who drove the Britons westward to the ocean, so that many were compelled to seek refuge among their kinsmen in Armorica. Centwin was succeeded by Ceadwalla, an enterprising prince who, after having reduced Kent, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight to obedience, set out for Rome to receive baptism at the hands of the Pope himself. He had scarcely obtained this favour and become a Christian when he was seized with a fatal illness. His remains, by the Pope's direction, were interred in the church of St. Peter, and an inscription on the tomb commemorated his name and virtues.

Penda invades  
Wessex.

A. D. 642.

Ina, a descendant from the Bretwalda, Ceawlin, succeeded on the throne of Wessex. The reign of this prince was long and prosperous. He annexed Essex, compelled the King of Kent to pay a *were-geld* of 30,000 pounds of silver in compensation for the murder of his cousin, Mollo, and after an obstinate struggle drove Geraint, the British king of Cornwall, from his dominions. But though thus not inferior to any of his predecessors as a warrior, the glory of his reign was not so much in his conquests as in the code of seventy-nine laws which, in the fifth year of his reign, in a general assembly of the Witenagemot, "by the advice of his bishops, of all his ealdormen, and wise men,

Ina of  
Wessex.

and clergy," he enacted for the better government of his kingdom. The Abbey of Glastonbury was founded and richly endowed by Ina, who was indeed a liberal donor and generous patron of all the monasteries in his dominions. In all his good acts and resolutions he was seconded by his queen, Ethelburga, to whose influence may partly be ascribed his resignation of the crown into the hands of the Witenagemot, and his pilgrimage to Rome, where, undistinguished from the common peoples, he spent his time in devotion. His death, which took place in the Eternal City, within a year of his arrival, was soon after followed by that of his queen, Ethelburga, the faithful partner in his power, poverty, and penitence. Ethelheard, the brother of Ethelburga, succeeded, but his reign was unfortunate; the Britons gained three victories over him, and Ethelbald, King of Mercia, deprived him of Somerton, the capital of Somersetshire. After a reign of thirteen years he left the throne to his brother, Cuthred, who defeated the Mercians in the great battle of Burford and restored the independence of Wessex; he also gained advantages over the Britons and took some territory from them. He died in 754, and was followed on the throne by Sigebyrcht, who, in less than a year was deposed, and Cynewulf, a descendant of Cerdic, elected by the Thanes. Cynewulf, after a long reign of thirty-one years, was assassinated by Cyneheard, a brother of Sigebyrcht. On his death, Brithric and Egbert were competitors for the throne; Brithric prevailed, and Egbert took refuge at the court of Charlemagne. Little is known of Brithric save his tragic death. His queen, Eadburga, a daughter of Offa of Mercia, disliking a certain young noble, the companion of the king, resolved to remove him by poison. The king drank also of the fatal cup, and the murderess had to fly to France from the rage of the people. Thence she afterwards went to Italy, where she died in great poverty at Pavia.

Battle of  
Burford

Egbert.

Egbert, who, during his sojourn of thirteen years in France, had, under the tuition of so competent a master as Charlemagne, become a proficient in the arts both of war and government, on learning the death of Brithric, returned to his native country. He was welcomed by Thanes and people, and as the sole descendant of Cerdic ascended the throne almost without opposition.

A. D. 800.

Egbert at first directed his efforts to the consolidation of his power and the rectification of abuses within his own kingdom. The Britons of Devonshire and Cornwall were the first who experienced his military skill; they were reduced to complete subjection, and Cornwall was added to the kingdom of Wessex. The battle of Ellandune, near Wilton, in Wiltshire, fought in 823, in which he gained a complete victory over Beornwulf, King of Mercia, enabled him soon after to add that kingdom to his own. The small and feeble states of Kent, Essex, and Sussex were next overrun, and reduced to submission to the crown of Wessex. The subjection of Mercia carried in its train that of East Anglia, and thus Egbert became supreme lord over all the Germanic peoples south of the Humber. Northumbria alone retained its independence, and accordingly against it were the arms of Egbert next directed. The Northumbrian monarch, Eanfrid, however, did not risk a conflict; but setting out in peaceable procession at the head of his thanes, met Egbert on his march and tendered his submission. On giving hostages, Eanfrid was permitted to retain his crown as the vassal of Wessex. Thus, master of all England, Egbert was, in a sense more just than in the case of any of his seven predecessors, acknowledged eighth Bretwalda.

A. D. 823.

Submission of  
Northumbria.A. D. 827.  
Egbert is  
master of all  
Saxon Britain.

Just as the country had thus been united into one monarchy, and a future of peaceful development seemed about to succeed the scenes of incessant disorder and bloodshed that had hitherto composed its history, there appeared from without new enemies, whose ravages were destined to continue for a period of more than two centuries, and to terminate only by the annihilation of that Anglo-Saxon sovereignty thus auspiciously established by Egbert. These new enemies were found among their own pagan kindred, in the piratical hordes of Danes and Northmen, whose kings, like those of the Anglo-Saxons themselves, claimed to be descendants of Woden.

In the year 832, perhaps under the command of Regner Lodbrok, a famous "sea-king," they ravaged the Isle of Sheppey, and soon after, landing from thirty-five vessels on the coast of Dorsetshire, encountered Egbert at Charmouth, in the same county, and utterly defeated him. Their next enterprise was not so successful; in a battle fought three years later at Hengston Hill, in Cornwall, they, with their allies the Cornish Britons, were totally

Descent of  
Danes on the  
English coast,  
A. D. 832.Battle of  
Charmouth.Battle of  
Hengston Hill.  
A. D. 835

defeated. This was the last exploit of Egbert, who died in the following year, leaving his throne to his son, Ethelwulf.

*Ethelwulf*, 836-857. The reign of this prince was one long struggle against the Danes. In the very first year, 837, they landed from thirty-four vessels at Southampton, but were defeated with great slaughter by the Ealdorman Wulfheard. The freebooters were more fortunate in Dorsetshire, where, having defeated and slain Ealdorman Ethelhelm, they pillaged the surrounding country. In the following year another swarm landed in Lincoln, and pushing their way to and across the Thames, stormed and pillaged London, Rochester, and Canterbury. In the following year (840) Ethelwulf himself was defeated at Oharmouth, in an action with thirty-five ships' crews of the barbarians. In 851, after ten years of comparative quiet, a vast fleet of 350 vessels sailed up the Thames. London and Canterbury were again sacked, and Bertulf, King of Mercia, who commanded the district, was defeated. The invaders now turned west, and encountered Ethelwulf himself, at the head of his West Saxons, at Okely, in Surrey. The battle was obstinate and bloody, but victory remained with Ethelwulf, and the Danes suffered a loss such as they had never before experienced in one day. This victory left him leisure to turn his arms against the Welsh, whom he reduced to obedience to his vassal, the King of Mercia.

*Ethelwulf* had at this time four sons, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred. The last was the king's favourite, and in order to secure the succession to him on his own death, Ethelwulf sent him to Rome while still a child of five years, where he was by the hands of the Pope consecrated king. Ethelwulf himself, in two years after, proceeded to the Eternal City. On his return he was for a time the guest of Charles the Bald, King of France, whose daughter, Judith, he married. This marriage, and perhaps his evident preference of Alfred, induced Ethelbald, his eldest son, to seize the throne for himself; but on his father's surrendering to him the kingdom of Wessex proper, retaining to himself Kent, Sussex, and the eastern dependencies, peace was preserved. Ethelwulf died in 857, and was buried at Winchester.

Death of  
Ethelwulf.

*Ethelbald*, 857-860. One of the first acts of Ethelbald on succeeding his father was to marry his youthful step-

mother, Judith. The scandal given by this act roused the anger of his people, and on the remonstrance of the Bishop of Winchester he agreed to a separation. Judith, having sold her dower-lands, returned to France, where she contracted a third marriage with Baldwin, Count of Flanders. From this union was descended Matilda, queen of William the Conqueror, and so the ancestress of a long line of English sovereigns. Nothing is known of the short reign of Ethelbald, who, dying in 860, was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert, who had before ruled in Kent and Sussex.

A. D. 860.

*Ethelbert*, 860-866. In his reign Winchester was ravaged by the Danes, who, however, on their return laden with plunder, were attacked and chased to their ships. Ethelbert died in 866, and though he left children, his brother Ethelred succeeded.

*Ethelred I.*, 866-871. The history of the reign of this prince is little else than a series of unfortunate contests with the Danes, who now began to establish themselves firmly in the country. In the previous reign a large fleet of Northmen was wrecked off the coast of Northumbria. Its chief was the famous Regnar Lodbrok, one of the most celebrated heroes of northern romance, whose name awakened terror throughout the Baltic coasts and the shores of Ireland, France, and Scotland. At the time of his shipwreck on the Northumbrian coast, that kingdom was distracted by rival claimants for its throne, Osbert and Ella. The news of the descent of the Northmen soon spread abroad, and Ella flying to meet them, took the renowned Regnar prisoner and put him to a cruel death. He was flung alive into a pit full of snakes, who stung him to death. His sons and companions in Denmark and Norway swore to avenge him, and vast preparations were made to carry out this intention. At length eight kings and twenty jarls, at the head of several thousand warriors, set sail, and landed on the shores of East Anglia. Here they formed a camp, and having fortified it and procured a supply of horses, spent the winter in preparations. In the following spring, having been reinforced, they left East Anglia, and under the command of Ubbo and Ingwar, the two sons of Regnar, moved northwards and took possession of York. Near this they were attacked by Osbert and Ella, who put them to flight; but attempting to pursue them into the city, the Danes turned on their

Death of Regnar Lodbrok.

Danes invade Northumbria.



assailants and made a terrible slaughter. Osbert was slain, but Ella was taken alive, and suffered whatever the fiendish cruelty of his captors could devise. The back on both sides of the spine was slit open, and the ribs separated from it; the lungs were then drawn through the openings and salt scattered on the wounds. This, known as the "eagle" torture, from the resemblance of the victim to that bird's form, was usual among the Northmen. Having thus obtained possession of the north, the barbarians divided; some remained at York, but the greater part marched to Mercia and seized Nottingham. Being soon after besieged by the Wessex and Mercian armies, they surrendered the town on condition that they should be permitted to retire unmolested to York. Lincolnshire next experienced the cruelties of the invaders. A heroic band, under Ealdorman Algar, after a brave resistance, was cut to pieces, and the Danes continued their advance till they reached Croyland Abbey, which they sacked and burned. The young monks, with portion of the movable property, had been sent away in boats, but the old monks and boys remained behind and retired to the church. On the gates being forced, the abbot was beheaded on the altar steps, and of the rest an indiscriminate massacre was made; one boy alone escaped to tell the horrible tale to the brothers, who returned after the departure of the enemy.

The Danes  
destroy Croy-  
land Abbey.

The abbey of Bardeney, Medeshamstede, and the convent of Ely, shared the fate of the Abbey of Croyland. On the entrance of the Northmen into East Anglia, Edmund, its king, despairing of success, disbanded his army. He himself was captured, and carried in chains before Ingwar. The sea-king proposed to him the abjuration of his religion and the acknowledgment of himself as superior lord, as the conditions on which his life would be spared. To these Edmund returned a firm and indignant refusal, on which Ingwar had him tied naked to a tree and his body made a target for his soldiers, after having been lacerated with scourgings. His constancy wearied out his tormentors, and Ingwar himself, seizing a sword, severed his head from his body. Edmund was buried at a place called in his honour Bury-St.-Edmund, where a monastery was erected to his memory. East Anglia thenceforward became a Danish kingdom, with Guthrum for its first Danish king.

Martyrdom  
of King Ed-  
mund of East  
Anglia.

After this a portion of the marauders passed into Wessex, and took and fortified Reading. At the battle of

Eccesdune, Ethelred and his brother won a considerable victory over them; but in the two following battles of Basing and Morton the advantage lay with the invaders, who had received large reinforcements. In the last of these Ethelred received a wound, of which he died in a few days, and was succeeded by his brother Alfred, afterwards justly surnamed "the Great."

Battles of  
Eccesdune,  
Basing, and  
Morton.

The Anglo-Danish struggle was at its fiercest when Alfred, then in his twenty-second year, came to the throne. In the last year of his brother's reign and the first of his own, nine pitched battles had been fought with the enemy. The losses of both sides were so great that a peace was made, and the Danes agreed to evacuate Wessex. They retired to London, where they were joined by their countrymen from Northumbria. Here they remained for the winter. In the following year, on Burhred, the Mercian king, agreeing to pay them tribute, they left London (then a Mercian town) and marched to Northumbria. Having reinstated their nominee, Egbert, on the throne of that kingdom, they returned to the north-east borders of Mercia, taking up winter quarters at Torksey, in Lincolnshire. In spite of a new treaty with Burhred, they moved south, and wintered at Repton, in Derbyshire, where they destroyed the famous monastery, the burial-place of the Mercian kings. Burhred, seeing no hope of success, and all England a prey to these pagans, abandoned his kingdom, and set out on a pilgrimage to the tombs of the apostles. He died a few days after his arrival in Rome, and was buried in the Church of St. Mary, attached to the English school in that city. His wife, Ethelswith, sister of Alfred, set out soon after, but died on the way, and is buried at Ticino.

Accession of  
Alfred, A. D.  
871.

Destruction  
of the Abbey  
of Repton, in  
Mercia, and  
abdication of  
Burhred.

Though Mercia was completely conquered, it was not yet convenient for the Danes to make a permanent settlement in it; they accordingly placed a traitorous thane of the late king, named Ceolwulf, on its throne, to hold it subject to their will, and till they should reclaim it. This tyrant, having plundered and oppressed his countrymen more cruelly than the pagans themselves could have done, was afterwards, on suspicion of treachery to his new masters, stripped by them of his authority, and sent to die in misery.

A. D. 877.

On the removal of Ceolwulf, Danish settlements began to spread, and the principal towns occupied by them be-

came known as the Danish Burghs. They were also, from their number, known sometimes as the Five Burghs, which included Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Stamford. When York and Chester were added, they were spoken of as "The Seven Towns." Northumbria, like Mercia, was for a time placed under the tyranny of nominal vassal kings—Egbert, and, after him, Riesig; but in a few years the barbarians themselves took direct possession, and the land was divided among them by Halfdane, their chief, so that they became, says the Saxon Chronicle, "its harrowers and ploughers."

A. D. 876.

But of all the ruin wrought in Northumbria, the destruction of the churches and monasteries was the most grievous, especially that of the venerable Cathedral of Lindisfarne, which was deemed one of the great misfortunes of the age. In the same year in which this destruction took place, Alfred encountered at sea seven Danish ships, of which he captured one and put the rest to flight. This is interesting as the first English naval victory, but was of little effect in intimidating the Danes, who, in 876, again invaded his own kingdom of Wessex. They came under Guthrum, Danish King of East Anglia, surprised Wareham, and laid waste the surrounding country.

A. D. 878.

First Naval  
Victory of  
England, A.D.  
874.

Alfred, by payment of a sum of money, induced them to promise also to withdraw from his kingdom. They gave their chief men as hostages, and swore on the "holy bracelet," the most solemn oath known to the Northmen, and one never before taken by them to an enemy, that they would vacate Wessex. Alfred was not satisfied till they had sworn on the Christian relics, to which the pagans readily consented. The value of this solemn treaty was, however, quickly shown, for on the very night following, a band of those very men who had thus bound themselves by such sacred pledges rushed on a number of Alfred's horsemen, and, having slain them, mounted themselves and rode to Exeter, where they spent the winter. Next year they were followed by those who had remained behind at Wareham.

Alfred buys  
Peace of the  
Danes.

On Exeter the anxieties of both nations were fixed. Thither numbers of Northmen flocked from all parts. Alfred since his victory at sea seems to have given great attention to ships, many of which he caused to be built, and of a size larger than those of the Danes. These he manned with foreigners and pirates, his own people being yet inexperienced in such life. A fleet of his about this

time met 120 vessels of the Northmen carrying reinforcements to their countrymen at Exeter. The elements fought on the side of Alfred; most of the Danish vessels were wrecked by a storm at Swanwick, on the Hampshire coast.

Wreck of the  
Danish Fleet.

Alfred himself besieged Exeter, but could not capture the castle or fortress, and so again accepted hostages and oaths that they would retire from his territory. On this occasion they did leave his kingdom, and withdrew into Mercia.

Alfred be-  
siegues Exeter,  
A. D. 877.

The truce, however, was short, for next year they returned in great force under Guthrum, and having captured the royal town of Chippenham-on-the-Avon, spread devastation around and took possession of the country. Great part of the Wiltshire population fled before them to the Isle of Wight. Alfred himself, with a small band of trusty followers, took refuge in a retired spot between the rivers Tone and Parret, which from this time has been called Athelney, or the Isle of Nobles. His life at this period was that of an outlaw. He depended on chance for subsistence, and in his efforts to elude his enemies underwent many privations and had many strange adventures.\* To this period of gloom belongs the story of the cakes, illustrative of the king's patience and humility. Obligated to take refuge in the house of a neat herd of his, whose wife did not know him, he was by that good woman left in charge of some cakes. Occupied with other thoughts, Alfred sat mending his bow and arrows and allowed the cakes to burn. Not unnaturally, for this negligence, he was soundly rated, the irate housewife exclaiming in shrill tones, "Why, man, with such idleness and neglect, how can ye come to good in the world, be ye whom ye may."

Alfred takes  
refuge in Ath-  
elney.

A. D. 878.

But while Alfred was thus concealed, he kept himself informed of the state of affairs, so as to be ready to seize the first occasion that might offer for renewing the war. To acquaint himself with the condition and plans of the Danes, he disguised himself as a *gleeman*, and entered their camp, where, while pretending to amuse, he was skilfully noting whatever could be of future use. The result was

\* An interesting relic of Alfred's retreat has been discovered at Athelney in the seventeenth century. A gold-and-enamel ornament, with the words, "Alfred het me ge wircan," "Alfred hath caused me to be made," has been picked up, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford.

satisfactory. The Danes lay in supine security, and despised the English too much to pay them even the homage of common precaution. It chanced at this time, and while Alfred was still at Athelney, that Biorn Ironside and Ubbo, two vikings, with a large number of followers, attempted a landing in Devonshire.

Defeat of a party of Danes and capture of the Hæven Banner by the men of Devonshire.

The Devonshire men met them on the shore and slew Ubbo and 500 of his men, and captured their magic banner, the "Raven," wrought, it was said, in one noon-tide, by the three daughters of Regnar Lodbrok. Encouraged by this victory, Alfred, after he had finished a small fort at Athelney, summoned to his banner all who were willing to make another effort for deliverance from their oppressors. They met him in large numbers on the edge of Selwood Forest, at Brixton ("Egbert's Stone"). Thus at the head of an army, he soon after attacked the Danes at Ethandune,\* and after a fierce conflict remained master of the field.

Alfred emerges from his retreat and defeats Guthrum at Ethandune, A. D. 878.

A. D. 878.

Guthrum, with the scattered remnants of his army, took refuge behind his entrenchments, but after a fortnight's siege was compelled to accept terms from Alfred. Alfred for the time was content with the promise of Guthrum to become a Christian. He was baptised with some thirty of his principal chiefs a few weeks after, and took the name of Athelstan, Alfred himself acting as god-father for him. The two princes removed to Wedmore, a royal town of Wessex, where for twelve days Guthrum enjoyed his god-father's hospitality.

Peace of Wedmore, A. D. 878-880.

Two treaties were formed between them, which together form what is called the Peace of Wedmore.

The first related to a division of the kingdom between the Saxons and Danes. By it the boundary was to be the Thames, the river Lee to its source, thence to Bedford, then along the Ouse to Watling-street. The territory east of this line, together with Northumbria, formed the Danish territory, Danelagh, or "Dane Law."

The second treaty confirmed peace and friendship between the two nations. Laws were established which might promote, as far as possible, unity and harmony between English and Danish subjects; in their mutual relations, the laws of the latter to be assimilated to those of the Saxons. The life of a Dane and an Englishman

\* Position not known with certainty; supposed Edington, near Westbury.

were declared equal, and fines for offences were determined in Danish as well as in English money.

On leaving Wessex, Guthrum and his followers bent their way to Cirencester, where they tarried a year, after which they retired to their home in East Anglia, now for fourteen years in their possession. A. D. 878.

The peace that followed Guthrum's retreat was made use of by Alfred for the improvement and civilisation of his people, and for the organisation of the military and naval forces of the kingdom. A. D. 879.

Experience had forced upon him the necessity for a regular force, ready to take the field on the first summons. Accordingly, he organized a militia, which he divided into two bodies, who were to serve in alternate succession. The defence of the towns he confided to the inhabitants, under the direction of the king's reeve, or sheriff. Alfred's Military Organization.

In his encounter with the Danes, he learned the use of fortifications as a means of withstanding superior forces. More than fifty strong castles or fortresses were built in different places along the coast and at the mouths of navigable rivers. He next directed his attention to the creation of an efficient navy; his first efforts in this direction have already been noticed, but he now set himself more regularly to the task. Ships were built much higher in the deck and double the length of the Danish vessels, while, to counteract their increased weight, the number of rowers were augmented, no vessel having less than thirty oars a side, while several had more.

His next work was to draw up a code of laws for the better regulation of the civil government and the more effective administration of justice. This code was not, as is sometimes said, a new creation, but in the main a restoration of former institutions, and a selection from the statutes of Athelbert, Ina, Offa, and others of his predecessors. Not content, however, with promulgating good laws he looked himself after their administration, and, as supreme judge, patiently listened to appeals from the humblest as from the most powerful of his subjects. By this means the successive grades of magistracy trembled with a salutary fear at the severity and impartiality of the monarch. So marked was the reformation wrought by these means that, it is said, golden bracelets hanging on the highways remained untouched, and a traveller's purse might be found months after on the spot where it was dropped. Alfred's civil administration.

**Restores  
learning.**

The restoration of learning formed also a main object of his care. The state of the country in this respect may be inferred from the fact that, as he himself relates, there was not, in the whole kingdom of Wessex, a man able to translate a Latin book into English. To remedy this condition of things he invited learned men to his Court, and placed them at the head of educational establishments. Asser of St. David's resided with the king during six months of the year, and has left us the only original biography of him which we possess. One thought, especially, occupied him, to translate foreign works into his native tongue. This task he set himself to perform, and translated into English from Latin, Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," the "Epitome" of Orosius, an abridgment of ancient history, then in much repute, Boetius's "Consolation of Philosophy," and the "Pastoral" of Pope Gregory the Great.

**His private  
life.**

His private life was regulated by method and system in the minutest affairs. The officers of his household were divided into three groups, who served him in rotation, a month at a time. One-half of his revenue was also divided into three parts: one to reward his servants, one to make presents to strangers visiting his Court, and one to pay the foreign workmen whom he employed in restoring the palaces and public buildings. Of the other moiety, one quarter supported his school, another was shared between the convent at Shaftesbury, presided over by his daughter, Ethelgiva, and a monastery of foreign monks at Ethelingey. A third quarter was devoted to the relief of the poor, and the remainder reserved for alms to the various churches.

From these peaceful labours he was again recalled to resist a new invasion of the Northmen, who, under the command of Hastings, sought, in imitation of Guthrum, to establish another kingdom in Britain. They were, however, foiled in all their attempts, and after a three years' struggle abandoned further efforts. Hastings promised to retire from the country, on receiving a sum of money; and, as an earnest of his sincerity, gave hostages, and sent his two sons to receive baptism. For these princes Alfred and his son-in-law became sponsors. A portion of the Danish army, however, eluded the vigilance of the English, but were overtaken by the king and his son, Edward, at Farnham, and totally routed. About this time, too, the conduct of the Northumbrian and East Anglian Danes gave cause for anxiety; they were suspected of connivance and

sympathy with the leaders of the new invasion. Hastings, instead of disappearing as he had promised, took possession of Beamsfleet on the Essex coast; but the capture of his wife, children, and treasures, in his absence, by Ethred, Alfred's son-in-law, compelled him to sue for peace, and to promise to leave the island for ever. The last thing heard of him is his acceptance of the city and territory of Chartres in France, as a vassal of Charles the Simple. But Hastings's departure did not bring peace to the Saxons. A large body of Northmen from East Anglia and Northumbria, leaving their stronghold in Essex, marched along the left bank of the Thames to the valley of the Severn, which they plundered in every direction. Besieged by the men of Mercia and Wessex, and driven to desperation by famine, they cut their way through their enemies and made good their return to Essex. In another campaign they ravaged North Wales, and took possession of Chester, but on the approach of the royal army retreated by way of Northumbria and East Anglia. But Alfred's military organisation began to be felt, the checks of the Northmen became more frequent, and from formidable armies they gradually dwindled to isolated bands of marauders who, though still troublesome, were no longer dangerous. The Saxon vessels, too, began to be formidable, and towards the end of Alfred's reign had obtained several advantages over those of the barbarians. This great king thus saw his long labours crowned with success, and on his death, which occurred the 28th of October, 901, left to his son and successor, Edward, surnamed the Elder, a well-organised kingdom, and free at least from its foreign enemies.

Death of Alfred, A.D. 901.

Alfred had married Alswithe, the daughter of a Mercian noble, by whom he had three sons—Edmund, who died in his father's lifetime; Edward, who succeeded him; and Ethelward, who lived a learned and retired life; and three daughters—Ethelfleda, the wife of Ethered of Mercia; Ethelgiva, Abbess of Shaftesbury, and Alfritha, married to Baldwin, Count of Flanders, the son of the celebrated Judith.

*Edward the Elder, 901-925.*—The accession of this prince, the second son of Alfred, was opposed by his cousin, Ethelwald, son of Ethelred, Alfred's brother. The witenagemot decided for Edward, and Ethelwald sought to make good his claims by force. Having collected an army from the Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia, he seized Essex,



and next year crossing the Thames, invaded and ravaged Wiltshire. Edward's advance compelled him to retreat; the king's army followed, and retaliated by devastating East Anglia. In a great battle fought with the Kentish men, who had remained behind after Edward and his West Saxons had retired, Ethelwald was slain, though victory rested with his army.

**The Lady of Mercia.**

Edward, freed from this pretender, next set about incorporating Mercia with Wessex. Ethelfleda, wife of Etherned, King of Mercia, and sister of Edward, had, after her husband's death, carried on the government with vigour and success. The death of this princess, known as the Lady of Mercia, gave Edward the desired opportunity of removing all traces of separate government in the two states, and from 920, the date of that event, Mercia and Wessex formed one undivided kingdom.

**Extension of fortresses.**

The most marked military feature of the reign was the extension of the system of fortresses commenced by Alfred. In this Edward was actively seconded by his sister, the Lady of Mercia, who, having erected such fortresses in Bridgenorth, Tamworth, Stafford, and Warwick, besieged and took by storm the two "Burgh" cities of Derby and Leicester. Edward himself afterwards seized Huntingdon and Colchester, and was preparing for the vigorous continuation of the war, when the Danes, broken and dissipated, made voluntary submission and acknowledged him as their "lord and protector." The Britons, too, of Cumbria and Strathclyde, "chose him father and lord," so that Edward enjoyed more real power than had ever been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. The fortresses built by him and his sister grew into towns or burghs, and so powerfully affected the later social and civil history of the country.

**Subjugation of the "Five Burghs."**

**The Britons acknowledge Edward.**

Edward had been thrice married, and left a large family. Three of his sons, Athelstan, Edmund, and Edred, succeeded in turn to the throne. Six of his daughters were married to foreign princes, and three embraced a religious life.

*Athelstan, 925-940.*—This prince, who succeeded in accordance with the will of his father, is generally represented as an illegitimate son of Edward's. The evidence for this belief is that of a romantic, but very doubtful story, drawn from an ancient ballad. The Etheling, Alfred of Wessex, who conspired against him, having gone to Rome to purge himself of the charge, died there, and his possessions be-

came the property of the monastery of Malmesbury. On the death of Sightric, King of Northumbria, who had married Athelstan's sister, the king seized his territory and annexed it to Wessex; he razed to the ground the fortress of York, the great stronghold of the Danes in the north. He next compelled the kings of the Scots, Cumbrians, and Britons of Wales to swear fealty to him as their lord; the Cornish Britons were forbidden to pass the Tamar, and Wales was to furnish a yearly tribute of 20 pounds of gold, 300 of silver, and 5,000 head of cattle. But the greatest event of Athelstan's reign was the great victory of Brunanburgh,\* in Northumbria, won A. D. 937. Aulaff, son of Sightric, had entered the Humber with 615 vessels, and with a mixed host of Norwegians, Danes, and Irish.† He was joined by the kings of the Scots and Britons. The battle which ensued lasted till sunset, but the army of the "Five Nations" was defeated with such great loss that a native poet exclaims: "Never, since the arrival of the Saxons and Angles, was such a carnage known in England." By this victory all those parts originally conquered by Angles and Saxons were brought under one crown, so that Athelstan was the first that established the kingdom of England. The predecessors of Alfred were styled "Kings of Wessex" merely, that monarch and his son, Edward, called themselves "Kings of the Anglo-Saxons." Athelstan first took the title of "King of the English" (*Rex Anglorum*), though he sometimes assumed the more pompous title of "King of the whole of Britain" (*Rex totius Britanniae*).

Athelstan  
annexes Northumbria to  
Wessex.

Battle of  
Brunanburgh

A. D. 937

Athelstan's fame brought him into relations with several of the princes of Europe. At his court were educated Haco, son of Harold Harfager, King of Norway, Alan, son of Alan the Great of Bretagne, and Louis D'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, King of France. One of his sisters, Editha, married Otho, Emperor of Germany, another, Ethilda, married Hugo the Great, founder of the Capetian dynasty; a third, Elgiva, became the wife of Louis, Duke of Aquitaine. Edgiva, another sister, had married Charles the Simple of France, in the lifetime of her father, Edward.

Athelstane gave much attention to civil affairs; fines were imposed on magistrates who failed to execute the laws, assemblies were held to preserve the purity and weight of the coin, and associations were formed for pro-

\* Situation not known.

† Probably Irish Danes.

Death of  
Atheistane.

tection of property. His enactment, that anyone who made three voyages in his own ship should be raised to the rank of thane, indicates the interest he took in the growing commercial spirit of the people. He died in 940, and was buried in the Abbey of Malmesbury, which he had richly endowed. He was succeeded by his brother.

Treaty with  
Anlaf.

Expulsion of  
Danes from  
Five Burghs.

Britons de-  
feated, Cum-  
bria ceded to  
Malcolm of  
Scotland.

Death of  
Edmund,

*Edmund*, 940-946.—At the very opening of his reign Edmund was engaged in a contest with Anlaf the Northman, who had invaded Northumbria. Judging from the treaty which followed, and which restored Watling-street as the boundary between the two nations, the advantage must have lain with Anlaf. The Northman died in the year after, and Edmund seized the opportunity to break the Danish power. He began with the Five Burghs, which he captured one by one, and expelling their Danish inhabitants, replaced them by English colonists. A rebellion of the Northumbrians against their rival tyrant-king, restored it to his authority, and the only danger that threatened was from the Britons of Cumbria. Against them Edmund's arms were next turned, their king, Dunmail,\* was taken, the eyes of his two sons were put out, and his territory bestowed on Malcolm of Scotland, on the condition that he should do homage for it to the English crown. The reign of Edmund was cut short by violence; as he was assisting at the festival of St. Augustine, in the city of Gloucester, Leofri, a notorious outlaw, presumed to enter and seat himself at the royal board, and, in the struggle that ensued, stabbed the king before he himself was despatched by the royal guards. Edmund left two sons, Edwy and Edgar, but their extreme youth rendered them incapable of government; their uncle and guardian, Edred, third surviving son of Edward the Elder, succeeded to the throne.

*Edred*, 946-955.—Edred, immediately on his coronation, made a journey to the north, and received from the Northumbrians and the kings of the Scots and Cumbrians oaths of fealty. He had hardly left the country, however, when a rebellion broke out, and the people who had chosen Eric, the exiled brother of Haco, King of Norway, for their

\* On the road between Ambleside and Keswick is still shown a large cairn of loose stones called "Dunmail's Raise," said to mark the scene of the battle and the spot where the brutal punishment was carried out.

ruler, defied the power of the King of Wessex. Edred returned and overran the country, after which, with much booty and many captives, he returned to London. A second rebellion provoked by these devastations, called Edred north once more; he marched through the country without opposition, laid waste whole districts, made captives the chief nobles, and planted garrisons in the principal towns. This was the final conquest of Northumbria, which never after regained its independence. It is the most important fact of Edred's reign.

Final Conquest of Northumbria.

Three eminent churchmen figure in the history of the time, Wolstan, Archbishop of York, Turketul, chancellor or secretary to the king, afterwards Abbot of Croyland, and Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury.

Eminent Churchmen.

Archbishop Wolstan had incurred the displeasure of Edred, by whom he was imprisoned for a year, but afterwards restored to his see.

Wolstan.

Turketul was the king's chief adviser both in civil and military matters. To his skill as a leader (for he commanded though he did not himself bear weapons) the victory of Brunanburgh was principally due. Turketul was of royal descent, son of Ethelwerd, eldest son of Alfred, and though a clergyman, and consulted by the king in all appointments both ecclesiastical and civil, never sought preferment for himself. On his way to visit the Archbishop of York, he passed through Croyland, and was so touched by the desolation of the ruins of its venerable abbey, in which three old monks still sought shelter, that he thereon resolved to have it restored and to end his life among its brethren. The king seconded his wish, and Turketul spent the last twenty-seven years of his life as Abbot of Croyland, which, under his rule, regained much of its old glories.

Turketul.

Dunstan, who was a near relative of Athelm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and nephew of Elphege, Bishop of Winchester, had by their influence been introduced, while still young, to the court of Athelstan. For some reasons he turned away from the life of a courtier, became a priest, and served many years in the church of Glastonbury, his native town. Here his eminent piety and learning attracted the notice of Turketul, who introduced him to King Edmund, by whom he was made abbot of Glastonbury. This position he still occupied at the death of Edred, which took place in 955. Anticipating, for the sake of connection, it

Dunstan.

may here be added that he was appointed by King Edgar Archbishop of Canterbury, in which position he was the directing master spirit in civil as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. His great work was the reformation of the clergy, among whom many irregularities had been introduced during the frightful disorders that followed the earlier invasions of the Danes. To revive piety and learning he set himself to the restoration of some of those abbeys which had been destroyed, and the foundation of new ones. He admired the strictness and other admirable points in the Rule of St. Benedict, and accordingly filled his new foundations with monks of that order.

*Edwy, 955-959.*—To Edred succeeded his nephew, Edwy, the son of his predecessor and brother, Edmund. This prince, who was not more than sixteen or seventeen years of age at the time of his accession, is described as weak, vain, and vicious. On the very day of his coronation, and whilst his nobles and bishops were still seated at table, he rose abruptly and retired to keep an appointment with a female named Elgiva, who, with her daughter, awaited him in a neighbouring chamber. The indignant company deputed Dunstan and Bishop Kynsey to remonstrate with the king on his conduct, and induce him to return to the hall. Accordingly the Abbot of Glastonbury and the bishop entered the chamber where the king was, and with some difficulty brought him back; but neither Edwy nor Elgiva ever forgave Dunstan for his share in the incident. The king's anger was fanned by the abbot's numerous enemies, Dunstan's Abbey of Glastonbury was plundered, the monks he had brought there were dispersed, and a party was sent out to seize his person if possible, and put out his eyes. This last revenge was planned by the hate of Elgiva; but it failed, as Dunstan was already at sea when his pursuers reached the coast. Soon after Edwy's private vices and the tyranny he exercised on the principal thanes, and especially on all who had the misfortune to be of his own kindred, roused an insurrection, which terminated in a division of the kingdom between him and his brother Edgar. Edwy retained all territory south of the Thames; Edgar was king of all the land north of that river. One of Edgar's first acts was to recall Dunstan, whom he appointed Bishop of Worcester, and soon after of London. Odo, Bishop of Canterbury, succeeded in inducing Edwy to put away Elgiva, but that monarch died

Dunstan  
banished.

A. D. 959.

Death of  
Edwy.

shortly afterwards, in 959, and was buried in Winchester.

*Edgar, 959-975.*—The death of Edwy again united the whole country under one crown. Edgar "was chosen king by the whole people of England." This prince, aware of his inexperience, for he was only sixteen years of age at this time, called to his councils men most distinguished for wisdom, energy, and zeal. Chief among them was Dunstan, now Bishop of London, to whom the glory and prosperity of the long reign of Edgar is justly ascribed. Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, having died before Edwy, that monarch had appointed Byrthelm, the Bishop of Sherbourne, to the metropolitan see. This appointment was cancelled by Edgar; Byrthelm returned to Sherbourne, and Dunstan became Archbishop of Canterbury.

Dunstan,  
Archbishop of  
Canterbury.

Though Edgar kept up a powerful fleet there is no record of any encounter with an enemy. In fact, the singular quiet of his reign, when contrasted with those before and after, has procured for this king the title of Edgar the Peaceful. There may have been some petty war with the Welsh, for at this time the tribute imposed by Athelstan having been refused by Idwall, son of Roderick the Great, King of North Wales, we read that he was ordered by Edgar to furnish annually 300 wolves' heads in lieu of it. The story goes on to say that Idwall paid it for three years only, as by that time all wolves were extirpated.

Welsh tri-  
bute of 300  
wolves' heads.

Edgar divided Northumbria into two parts, the old divisions of Bernicia and Deira. Over each he placed an earl, one, Oslac, over the portion north of the Tees, and Oswulf over that to the south, with York for its capital. He is said to have given Lothian to Kenneth, King of the Scots, to hold it as his vassal. Lothian in time became the seat of the Scotch government and the nucleus of a Saxonised kingdom of Scotland. Edgar was not crowned for thirteen years after his accession; the event at last took place in 973 at Bath. After the ceremony, he sailed along the West coast to Chester, where he was met by eight vassal kings, Kenneth, King of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccus of the Isles, and five Welsh princes, all of whom did him homage\* for their possessions. After the festivities

Coronation of  
Edgar.

Receives hom-  
age of eight  
Vassal Kings  
at Chester

\* The ceremony was thus performed: first, Kenneth, kneeling, placed his hands between those of Edgar, saying, "I become your man." Then followed the oath of fealty—"Lord, I will be faithful

that followed this meeting, the king and the eight princes entered the royal barge, moored on the Dee, which ran beneath the palace walls, and Edgar seizing the helm, was rowed by his vassals to the neighbouring monastery of St. John's, where, having heard Mass, they rowed back again. On his return to the palace at Chester, Edgar is said to have exclaimed that his successors may hereafter call themselves kings after the honour and glory which he had bequeathed to them by the pageant of that day.

*Edgar's titles* Edgar was fond of pompous titles; he first used the Greek term "Basileus." He is not merely "King of the English," or "King of the West Saxons," but "King of the English and all the nations round about," "Ruler and lord of the whole Isle of Albion," "Basileus of all Britain," &c.

In one of his charters he speaks of himself as King of all the islands between Britain and Norway, as well as of "the greater part of Ireland, with its most noble city of Dublin." This charter, however, is admitted by the best authorities to be spurious.

By his first wife, Elfleda the Fair, Edgar had a son, Edward, surnamed the Martyr, who succeeded him. By his second wife, Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, Earl of Devonshire, he had two sons, Edmund, who died in infancy, and Ethelred, who succeeded his brother Edward. Edgar had been educated among the East Anglian Danes, and retained for life a partiality for that people. His elevation to the throne was mainly due to their efforts joined to those of the Northumbrians and Mercians, also mainly Danes or descendants of Danes. It was, under these circumstances, very natural that his Danish subjects should occupy a favourable place in his thoughts, and that, in his legislation, their welfare should receive careful consideration. Shortly after the division above referred to, of Northumbria into two portions, one north of the Tees, and one south of that river, Edgar assembled the Witan at York and delivered an address of which the following is portion: "It is my will," said the king, "that with respect to worldly rights the Danes chose for themselves such laws as are best, and that the English observe the statutes which I

and true to thee; all whom thou dost love, I will love; all whom thou dost shun, I will shun; never wittingly or willingly will I do aught that is hurtful to thee." The other princes followed in the order of their rank and went through the same formula.

and my counsellors have added to the ancient dooms.\* But one thing I would have to be common to all my people, English, Danes, and Britons, in all parts of my empire: that both 'rich and poor possess in peace what they have rightfully acquired; and that no thief find a place where he may secure the property which he has stolen."

Edgar survived his coronation but two years, and died, in 975, at the early age of thirty-three, having reigned sixteen years. He was succeeded by Edward, son by his first wife, Elfrida.

*Edward the Martyr*, 975-979.—Edward, on his father's death, had reached his thirteenth year; his brother Ethelred was in his seventh. Edward's claim to the succession was founded on three grounds—the will of his father, the right of primogeniture, and the youth of his brother. In spite of these claims he was opposed by a faction headed by Elfrida, his stepmother, who, with Alfere of Mercia, made the cause of the expelled clergy their party cry. The new monks introduced by Dunstan were banished by Alfere from his territory, but found hospitable asylum in East Anglia and Essex. To avoid a civil war, a meeting of the Witan was called, in which Dunstan triumphantly demonstrated the right of Edward, who thereupon was chosen king and crowned immediately.

Elfrida, in spite of her opposition to his accession, was always treated by Edward with the utmost respect. His conduct, however, seems to have had little influence on her resolution to seize the first opportunity to remove the young king from the path of her own ambition. Such an opportunity presented itself in the fourth year of Edward's reign, when finding himself with a hunting party in the neighbourhood of Corfe Castle, in Dorset, the residence of Elfrida, he rode over alone to pay a visit to his stepmother. The meeting was friendly, but as the king had mounted his horse, and held to his lips the parting cup of mead, he was stabbed in the back by one of Elfrida's attendants. Setting spurs to his horse, he galloped some distance, but fainting from loss of blood, he dropped from the saddle, and his foot catching in the stirrup, he was dragged along till he expired. His remains were interred at Wareham, but some years later they were taken up and interred with all the pomp of a royal funeral at Shaftesbury. In a meeting or synod held at this time at Calne in

Murder of  
King Edward.

\* Judgments, laws.



regard to the property of the expelled clergy, the floor gave way and some of the members were killed and many hurt. Dunstan alone, holding on by a beam, was uninjured—a circumstance which late historians, without a particle of contemporary evidence, explain by ascribing the whole to a wicked plot\* and device of the primate for getting rid of his enemies and opponents.

On the death of Edward, the prelates and thanes felt themselves compelled to elect as his successor Ethelred, son of Elfrida, as the only representative of the royal family.

*Ethelred the Unready*, 979-1016.—This prince, who was but ten years of age at his accession, was crowned with the usual ceremony, at Kingston, by the Primate Dunstan. His reign was long and unfortunate. He was never popular with his subjects. Though guiltless of his brother's murder, the bloody act nevertheless cast a stain on his name and crown, while there was nothing in his character either to win men's affections or excite their admiration. He was selfish, idle, profligate, and utterly unfit to cope with the flood of evils that at this time inundated the unhappy country. To protracted scarcity was added pestilence among men and beasts; but worst of all, a recurrence of those terrible scenes of barbarian invasion from which the prudence and vigour of his predecessors had long procured the country an immunity. In the second year of his reign, A. D. 980, the Danes plundered Southampton in the south, and Chester in the north-west. In the following year, Devonshire and Wales were pillaged, and, in 982, the crews of three of their vessels took and sacked the town of Portland. London was burned in the same year, probably by the enemy, but it is not expressly stated. From 982 to 988 there seems to have been a lull in these invasions and plunderings, and the interval is only marked by a bitter quarrel between the king and the Bishop of Rochester, in which the lands of the prelate were ravaged: The same year in which this occurred, 986, a new calamity—a murrain among the cattle—broke out for the first time in England. The year 988 was marked by the death of Dunstan, as well as by the renewal

A. D. 980.

Ravages of  
the Danes.

\* Mr. Freeman gives no countenance to this or the other story of the torturing and branding of Elgiva. He does not hesitate to call the primate "A great and good man."

of the devastations of the pirate army of the Danes. The most creditable resistance to them was made in East Anglia by Earl Brithnoth and his warriors. The brave earl fell, and though his virtue and valour are the theme of a most interesting and ancient poem, his example found few imitators, and the pagans could only be got rid of by payment of a sum of money—10,000 lbs. of silver. This foolish expedient succeeded no better than might have been expected. In the very next year, 992, a great naval victory of the Danes placed the country at their mercy. Northumbria and Lincoln were “harried,” and the English leaders basely deserted the people.

In 994, things grew more menacing still. In that year two Northern kings, Anlaf, or Olave, King of Norway, and Sweyne, King of Denmark, with ninety-four vessels, entered London, which they besieged. Meeting, however, with a stubborn resistance, they scattered themselves over the counties of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, where they “wrought the greatest evil that ever army could do,” slaying, plundering, and burning wherever they went. They next took up winter quarters at Southampton, but abstained from further plunder on the promise of Ethelred to give them 16,000 lbs. of silver, and supply them with provisions. Ethelred sent the Bishop of Winchester to Olave, and the latter returned with the bishop to King Ethelred, who received him very kindly. Olave gave the king a promise, which he faithfully kept, that he would never again come to England as an enemy. Olave had by this time become a Christian, and during his visit to Ethelred received confirmation. The Danish fleets, however, hovered about the coasts, and from 997 to 1002, in spite of a further tribute of 24,000 lbs.\* of silver, almost the whole of England was laid waste by them. Amidst all this desolation, and with the enemies’ squadrons still cruising about the coasts, it is strange to hear that Ethelred found time not only to harass and plunder his vassals, the Kings of Cumbria and Anglesey, but also to send an expedition against his brother-in-law, Richard the Good of Normandy. This last enterprise, however, proved disastrous. But one ship’s crew returned with, say the Normans, the information to Ethelred that “the women of Normandy

Olave of Norway visits Ethelred.

\* A pound then was equal to its weight in silver, and worth about three pounds of our modern money.

alone would have been sufficient to extirpate the English army."

The year 1002 is memorable for two occurrences, each laden with weighty consequences to England's future destiny. These were the king's marriage with Emma, sister of Richard the Good of Normandy; the other was the massacre of all the Danes settled in England on the festival of St. Brice.

The marriage brought in its train the Norman Conquest; the massacre accelerated, if it did not cause, the Danish Conquest.

King's Marriage with Emma.

Emma was very unpopular. She had brought to the English court a crowd of foreign favourites, one of whom, "Earl Hugh," created by the king Sheriff of Exeter, betrayed his trust, and handed the stronghold over to the Danes.

Massacre of St. Brice's.

Among the victims of the "Massacre of St. Brice" was Gunhilda, sister of Sweyne, King of Denmark, a pious Christian lady, who, after being compelled to witness the brutal murder of her husband and son, was herself savagely slaughtered. She is said to have prophesied, more in sorrow than in anger, the woes that her blood would bring on England. Her forebodings were soon verified. Next year Sweyne, breathing vengeance, came with a great fleet, and burned and plundered all before him. The invasions were repeated till the country was reduced to the brink of destruction. Every shire in Wessex was marked with "fire, flame, and desolation;" and from their winter quarters in the Isle of Wight the marauders penetrated into the heart of the country as far as Reading and Wallingford, both of which, as usual, they plundered and burned. In the year 1007, another temporary respite was obtained from the enemy by the payment of thirty thousand pounds of tribute, or "Danegeld."

A. D. 1008.

Origin of Ship Money.

The humiliation, as well as the burden of these disgraceful imposts, set the king and Witan on a new device to strengthen the forces of the country. The landholders, in proportion to their estates, were to raise troops to supplement the old national militia. Every eight hides of land were to furnish one man provided with hauberk and helm. A similar scheme was applied to recruit the naval forces. Every 310 hides were to contribute one ship to the country's defence. This imposition is the foundation of "ship money," and the remote cause of the expulsion of the Stuarts in *after days*.

A great fleet was the result. "Never were so many ships gathered together in England before as in this king's day, as the books tell us," says the Saxon chronicle.

This great armament, however, came to nought; a leader named Wulfnoth, accused of treachery, departed with twenty vessels, eighty others sent in pursuit were wrecked, and the king, fearing treason, with his chief men returned to land. The crews of the remaining vessels, dispirited and disgusted, steered for London. Their departure was the signal for the Danes, under a new leader named Thurkil, who for some three years ravaged the greater part of the country. One of his first atrocities was the massacre of the greater part of the citizens of Canterbury, which, after a siege of twenty days, he entered by treachery. The venerable Archbishop Alphege, who sought to interpose between the savages and his flock, was seized, and after vain efforts to induce him to procure ransom, was barbarously massacred. In spite of his cruelties, Ethelred afterwards purchased the friendly services of this Thurkil for forty-eight thousand pounds, and many of his followers accepted settlements in the island.

Canterbury  
massacred.

The news of this arrangement aroused the envy and cupidity of Sweyne, who once more set sail for England, this time with the avowed object of conquering the country. He received at once the submission of the Danelagh (the territory north and east of Watling-street), Northumbria, Lincoln, and the Five Burghs. He marched southwards, received the submission of Oxford, but was foiled in an attempt on London. He next turned westwards, and at Bath proclaimed himself King of England, and compelled the homage of the thanes of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. London, seeing the defection of the whole country, began to waver, and Ethelred and Thurkil retiring with the fleet, the metropolis submitted to the invader. Ethelred, with a few followers, found a temporary concealment in the Isle of Wight, but soon followed the queen to Normandy. The death of Sweyne, which occurred shortly after, recalled him to London, where the thanes and people promised to support him against the foreigners. Ethelred, now at the head of an army, chased from the kingdom Canute, the son and successor of Sweyne, but sullied his success by putting to the sword every person of Danish extraction whom he found. Canute retaliated by mutilating all the hostages given to his father, and in that

A. D. 1013.

Sweyne, King  
of England.

Death of  
Sweyne.

state shipping them to England. In the following year the Danish king, having fitted a formidable fleet of two hundred ships, landed at Sandwich, and compelled the submission of Wessex. Ethelred, worn out with labour and disease, left the defence of the kingdom to his son Edmond, afterwards surnamed Ironside, who, having collected an army in the north, ravaged the Danish counties—conduct imitated by Canute, who gave up Mercia and the neighbourhood to the pillage of his troops.

**A. D. 1016.** The death of Ethelred at London, in April, brought *Edmond* to the capital, to which Canute immediately laid siege. Edmond and his brother escaped in a boat, and were soon at the head of a formidable army. Canute, leaving a portion of his forces to watch the city, followed with the remainder to crush the rising power of his rival. Some desperate battles were fought; that of *Secearstan*, which lasted two days, was, on the whole, favourable to Edmond, who followed the Dane to London, forced him to raise the siege, and then gave him battle a second time at *Brentford*. This encounter, though obstinate, was rather in favour of the enemy, who, after it, resumed the siege of London. The city, however, held out against all their assaults, and they retired to plunder the neighbouring counties. Edmond, who in the battle of *Secearstan* had already come into personal collision with Canute, and divided his shield with a stroke of his battle-axe, now sent him a personal challenge. This, however, the Dane declined, drily remarking that those who were anxious for fighting in winter should be prepared in summer. Edmond next came up with the enemy as they were plundering *Oxford*, and totally defeated them, but his own army was soon after overthrown in the terrible battle of *Assandun*,\* in *Essex*. Edmond retired to *Gloucester*, followed by Canute, but further bloodshed was prevented by a compromise; the two kings met in the island of *Olney*, exchanged oaths and presents, and agreed to a division of the kingdom between them. *Northumbria* and *Mercia* were the portion of Canute; the remainder was retained by Edmond. The *Danegeld* was levied on both kingdoms, and went to defray the expenses of the Danish fleet.

Edmond died† within a month of this peace, having

\* *Assington*, or *Ashdown*.

† It is not known what truth, if any, is in the statement by later writers, that Edmond's death was one of violence, instigated by the jealousy of Canute.

reigned, so far as a struggle like his could be called a reign, for the space of only seven months. He left behind him two sons, Edward and Edmond. Besides these, there were as representatives of the Saxon line, at the death of Edmond, his brother Edwy, and his two half-brothers, Edward and Alfred, sons of Ethelred by Emma.

### CHAPTER III.

#### DANISH KINGS, 1016-1042.

*Canute*, 1016-1035.—By what was pretended to have been a condition of the Peace of Olney between Canute and Edmond, that the total sovereignty of Britain should accrue to the survivor, Canute was unanimously proclaimed king. The two children of Edmond, said to have been committed to his guardianship, he sent to his half-brother, Olave of Sweden, with, it is added, instructions to have them quietly removed. The Swede was, however, too honest for so foul a deed, and yet fearing the hostility of Canute, had the young princes transferred to the court of Stephen (afterwards St. Stephen), the virtuous King of Hungary, where they were brought up like that monarch's own children. Edmond died young, but Edward married Agatha, the king's sister-in-law and daughter of Henry II., Emperor of Germany. From this marriage were born Edgar Atheling, Margaret, or Matilda, Queen of Scotland, and Christina, who retired to a convent.

Edmond Iron-  
side's children  
sent to Hun-  
gary.

Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred by Emma, found refuge with their uncle Richard in Normandy, who also made preparations to support their claims to the English throne by a powerful fleet. Canute, however, disarmed his resentment by proposing, himself, to marry Emma, on the condition that his own issue by her should succeed him on the English throne. Their nuptials was celebrated in July, 1017.

Canute mar-  
ries Emma,  
relict of Ethel-  
red.

Canute, while reserving to himself the government of Wessex, had placed powerful earls over the other kingdoms: Eric over that of Northumberland, Thurchil over East Anglia, and Edric over Mercia. This last, however, soon met a merited fate; as he was boasting of the services he had rendered the king, Canute, pointing to him, exclaimed, "*Then let him receive his deserts, lest he betray*

Murder of  
Ædric.

us, as he betrayed Ethelred and Edmund." The traitorous earl was in a moment cut down, and his body flung into the Thames. Eric and Thurchil were banished. Once seated firmly on the throne, Canute encouraged the return of his followers to Denmark. He raised a large sum of money, eighty-seven thousand pounds, which he distributed among them before dismissing them. He retained only his royal guards, a body of three thousand men, of which he himself was commander, and for whose government he drew up a set of laws still extant.

It was only after he was peaceably settled on the English throne that the heart of Canute seems to have been affected by the doctrines and spirit of Christianity. But the change, when it did set in, was very marked. The savage and cruel sea-king became transformed into a model of what a magnanimous, equitable, and Christian monarch should be. The English, the victims of his own and his father's cruelty, became the special objects of his favour. The insolence of his own countrymen was checked, and a spirit of lofty impartiality marked his selection of those who were to fill places of honour and emolument.

Canute's Code.

A code of laws, digested from the enactments of former kings, with modifications and additions suited to the time, was published for the use of all his subjects. Magistrates were to administer justice with mercy, and to be more severe on the wealthy and the powerful than on the poor and friendless. Pagan rites were forbidden, as also the selling of Christian slaves to pagan masters. Several of the burdens of feudalism were removed. *Purveyance*, or the compulsory supply of provisions at an arbitrary price to the king's servants, was strictly forbidden; while heiresses, who often suffered much from the tyranny or cupidity of their guardians or lords, were on no account, whether maid or widow, to be forced to marry against their will.

Goes to Rome.

In 1026, Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he was kindly received by the Pope, the Emperor Conrad, and the assemblage of princes and nobles who had visited Rome during the Easter festival. He took advantage of the occasion to procure many favours for his subjects; a safe journey, and the abolition of unlawful tolls for English pilgrims and merchants on their way to the Eternal City, and an abatement in the excessive fees paid by English prelates on the occasion of their visit to the Apostolic

See to receive the *pallium*. "Whatever," says Canute, "I demanded for the benefit of my people, either of the Pope or the Emperor, or the princes through whose dominions lies the road to Rome, was granted willingly, and confirmed by their oaths, in the presence of four archbishops, twenty bishops, and a multitude of dukes and nobles."

Canute, on the occasion of a visit to Denmark, suffered a severe defeat from Olave, at the head of an army of Swedes. It is said that shortly after the engagement, Earl Godwin, seeing a favourable opportunity, with his English soldiers, surprised the enemy in their entrenchments, and put them to complete rout. Godwin's conduct so pleased Canute that he bestowed on him the hand of his daughter, and ever after treated him with entire confidence.

Godwin's Victory.

Haco, King of Norway, had been defeated and expelled by Olave, a Norwegian sea-king, and sought the aid of Canute to reinstate him. An Anglo-Danish fleet accordingly sailed to the Norwegian coasts. Olave was in turn expelled, and Haco returned to his kingdom. The death of Haco, soon after, gave the throne once more to Olave, but he, too, shortly perished in an insurrection caused by his efforts to introduce Christianity among his subjects.

Canute expels Olave from Norway.

Malcolm of Scotland had refused to acknowledge himself the vassal of Canute for Cumberland, on the ground that the Dane had not come to the throne of England by inheritance. A large army was soon put in motion, on which Malcolm made over the territory of Cumberland to his successor, Duncan, with permission to do homage for it to the English king.

Compels King of Scotland to do homage for Cumberland.

The rebuke which Canute administered to those who sought his favour by flattering speeches on his greatness and power is well known. Seating himself on a chair on the sand near Southampton, as the tide was rising, he ordered the waters to stay their advance, but finding his command unheeded by the flowing tide, he turned to his courtiers and read them an impressive lecture on nothingness of the power of the greatest king when compared to His, who can say to the rushing waters: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The scene is said to have impressed himself so deeply that he never after wore his crown, even on ceremonious occasions.

Rebukes his flatterers.

Canute died at Shaftesbury, 1045, and was buried at Winchester. By Alfgive, daughter of the Earl of North-

His Death.



ampton, he had two sons, Sweyne and Harold, and by Emma, a third son, Hardicanute, and a daughter, Gunhilda, who married Henry, Emperor of Germany.

*Harold I., surnamed Harefoot,\** 1035-1040.—By the marriage treaty with Emma, Hardicanute, as the only son of that marriage, was heir to the English throne. But at the death of his father he was in Denmark, and his brother Harold, the only son of Canute then in England, for Sweyne had received the government of Norway, used his popularity with the Danes and Northern English to have himself proclaimed king. Hardicanute prepared to assert his own claim, but the horrors of a civil war were averted by a Witangemot held at Oxford, at which it was agreed that the two brothers should divide the kingdom, Harold taking all north, and Hardicanute all south of the river Thames. The government of Hardicanute's portion was, during his absence, committed to his mother, Emma, assisted by Earl Godwin.

Division of  
the Kingdom.

Edward lands,  
but is op-  
posed.

But the news of Canute's death also roused the two sons of Emma by Ethelred, then staying at their uncle's court in Normandy. Edward, the elder of the two brothers, set out with a fleet of thirty vessels, and landed at Southampton, apparently expecting aid and welcome from his mother, whose residence was but a few miles off. In this, however, he was disappointed, and seeing a formidable force collecting to resist him, he returned to his ships. The fate of his brother Alfred was more tragic. That young prince had been invited over either by his mother or Godwin, and with his followers were met by the earl on arrival, and quartered by him among the inhabitants. In the night the emissaries of Harold seized the strangers in their beds, placed them in a line, with their hands bound behind their backs; then, having set at liberty every tenth man, commenced fearful butchery and mutilation of the remainder, some being hamstrung, some disembowelled, some having their eyes horribly gouged out. Of this well might the old chronicler write: "Never was a more bloody deed done in this land since the arrival of the Danes." Alfred himself was placed, stripped of his clothes, on a wretched horse, with his feet tied beneath the saddle, and in this condition exposed to the derision of the people, led

\* So called from his fleetness in the chase, which he often attended on foot.

first to London, then to Ely, where he was condemned to lose his eyes—a sentence which was forthwith carried out. He died a few days afterwards, either from his torture or the assassin's dagger. After these things, Emma deserted her government, and fled for protection to Baldwin, Count of Flanders. Her flight left Harold without a competitor, and he was accordingly soon after crowned King of England.

After a reign of four years, Harold died in 1140, and was buried at Westminster.

*Hardicanute*, 1040-1042.—The death of Harold placed Hardicanute without opposition on the throne. The Danish force which accompanied him necessitated an increase in the tax imposed by Canute for the support of his Thingmana, or royal guard, and the people's discontent at Worcester broke out into a riot, in which the king's collectors were murdered. This revolt was, however, severely punished, and after four days of pillage the town was reduced to ashes. Riot at Worcester.

Hardicanute's next act was a piece of impotent vengeance on the remains of his brother, which, by his orders were disinterred, and after the head had been severed from the body, both were flung into the Thames. Some fishermen found them, and had them reinterred in the church of St. Clement Danes. Harold's body disinterred and decapitated.

Hardicanute was a man of mild manners, of a nature brave and generous. He invited his half-brother, Edward, from Normandy, and treated him with the warmest kindness. What his character as a ruler might prove can hardly be inferred from his brief reign of two years. He died suddenly at Lambeth, in the house of one of his nobles, whose marriage-feast he had honoured with his presence:

His death, for he left no issue, not only severed the connexion between the English and Danish crowns, but made way for the restoration, in the person of his half-brother, Edward, of the ancient Saxon line. His death.

#### *The Saxon Line restored.*

*Edward the Confessor*, 1042-1066.—On the death of Hardicanute, the mind of the people turned to the line of their ancient kings. It will be remembered that, on the death Representatives of Saxon line on death of Hardicanute.

Modern law  
of inheritance  
not observed  
in election of  
Saxon kings.

Edward, son  
of Ethelred,  
elected.

Sweyn, ne-  
phew of Can-  
ute, claims  
English Crown.

of Canute, there were alive four princes, representatives of the House of Cerdic—Edward and Alfred, the sons of Ethelred and Emma; and Edward and Edmond, the sons of Edmond Ironside. The two former princes found refuge with their uncle in Normandy, the two latter were first sent to Norway, and after to the court of St. Stephen, King of Hungary. By the death of Edmond abroad, and the murder of Alfred by Harold I., there remained, at the death of Hardicanute, the two Edwards, uncle and nephew, as sole representatives of the royal house of Wessex. According to the modern law of inheritance the nephew was the rightful heir, but such a law can hardly be said to have then existed; frequently an uncle was preferred to his nephew, and in fact, it would seem, that though, in general, a candidate for the throne was required to be of the blood-royal, yet his fitness to rule was as much considered as his closeness of kin. On the present occasion, the nephew had lived all his life out of the country, and had probably passed out of men's minds, while Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma, having been invited over by Hardicanute, was not only known to the people, but being on the spot at the death of this latter prince, diminished the chances of a contested succession. On Edward, accordingly, all eyes were turned: "And ere he (Hardicanute), was buried, all people chose Edward for king in London," says the Saxon chronicle.

In spite, however, of popular feeling, the elevation of Edward was opposed by a considerable party in the Witan, and it required the influence and eloquence of Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and Lyfing, Bishop of Worcester, to secure his accession. The malcontents were believed to be a Danish faction, working in the interests of Sweyn Estrithson, a nephew of Canute, son of his sister Estrith, and Ulf, a Danish nobleman.

Sweyn had been dispossessed of Denmark by Magnus, King of Norway, after which he landed in England and claimed the crown. According to his own account this claim was waived by him on the promise of King Edward to appoint him his successor, and that even in the event of his leaving sons, Sweyn, on two occasions afterwards, asked from England the aid of fifty ships to assist him against the Norwegians; but in spite of the efforts of Godwin, who had married an aunt of his, the demand was peremptorily refused by the Witan.

Magnus, too, on the ground of a treaty previously made between himself and Hardicanute, by which the survivor of the two monarchs was to succeed to the other's possessions, laid claim to the throne of England. The claim was ejected by the Witan, and came to nothing.

Magnus, King of Norway, claims the crown by virtue of treaty with Hardicanute.

It is thought that the aid of Godwin in securing the crown to Edward was only granted on conditions, among them that the king should marry Godwin's daughter, Editha the Fair, and that earldoms should be conferred on some or all of his sons.

Supposed conditions of Godwin's support.

At Edward's accession the most powerful nobles next to Godwin were Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Siward, Earl of Northumbria. The power of these northern earls was the chief check on the ambition of Godwin. But early in Edward's reign the influence of the last was reinforced by that of his eldest son, Sweyn, appointed to an earldom on the Welsh Marches, by that of his second son, Harold, Earl of East Anglia, and that of his wife's nephew, Biorn, Earl of part of Mercia. So that Godwin with his two sons and nephew exercised rule over a territory which included the ancient kingdoms of Wessex, Kent, Sussex, Essex, East Anglia, and part of Mercia. To this add the influence due to the presence of his daughter, Editha, on the throne, and it will be easy to account for the prominence of this earl and his family in the present reign.

The "Three great Earls," Godwin, Leofric, and Siward.

A. D. 1045.

Power of the Godwin family.

Though Edward was chosen king in June, 1042, he was not crowned till Easter, 1043. The ceremony, which took place at Winchester, and at which ambassadors bearing gifts from the principal European sovereigns, were present, was performed by Archbishop Edsy.\* The English nobles testified their affection and loyalty on the occasion by the offer of many rich presents to the king; that of Godwin, however, excelled all others in cost and splendour: a ship of 200 rowers, with a golden lion on the stern, and the dragon of Wessex, the national emblem, also in gold, at the prow.

Edward's coronation, A. D. 1043.

A. D. 1043.

In this same year, Edward, accompanied by the three great earls—Godwin, Leofric, and Siward—went to Winchester, where his mother, Emma, resided, and took possession of all her lands and other property to a vast amount. The reason assigned was her refusal to contribute to the needs of the State, but her unfriendly attitude to Edward

Edward's severity to his mother.

\* The cause of the postponement of Edward's coronation is an unsettled question; Mr. Freeman thinks it was owing to Edward's temporary absence from England at the time of his election.

in his exile and necessities is naturally supposed to have had its influence. Her punishment, the loss of her property, except a sum sufficient for her maintenance, and an order that she should henceforth live quietly in Winchester, had the sanction of the Witan, and the approval of the three great earls.

**Expulsion of  
Danish mal-  
contents.**

The king's severity to his mother was followed by the expulsion from the kingdom of many Danish nobles, especially those who had made themselves obnoxious by espousing the cause of Sweyn. These measures were, however, popular, and became specially so when this weakening of the Danish power in the realm enabled the king to remit the odious tax of Danegelt.

**Abolition of  
Danegelt, 1066**

**Edward's partiality to Normans causes discontent.**

But the partiality of Edward, on the other hand, for another class of foreigners, for the natives of that country where he had received his education, and where he had formed the friendships of youth, caused much discontent to his own people. Norman churchmen and Norman lawyers filled the English court, and acquired many of the best appointments in the gift of the Crown. The jealousy which their presence and preferments awakened was ripening to hostilities of itself, when an incident precipitated matters, and disclosed Godwin and his family as the champions of the national or anti-Norman party.

**Visit of  
Count Eustace  
of Boulogne  
to his brother-  
in-law, King  
Edward.**

Goda, sister of Edward, had been first married to Gauthier, Count of Nantes, by whom she had a son, Ralph, who was a great favourite with his uncle, the King of England; and secondly, to Eustace, Count of Boulogne, a prince of great power. Eustace, after his marriage, paid a visit to his brother-in-law, King Edward, but as his retainers were passing through Dover, their insolence or exactions led to a riot in which several of both sides were slain. The French count flew in a passion to the king to demand satisfaction for the outrage on his followers. Edward, believing Eustace's account of the matter, issued orders to Godwin, in whose earldom Dover lay, to punish the burghers who had dared to offer violence to the royal guests. Godwin, instead of obeying, seized the occasion of so popular a cause to expel all foreigners, and perhaps in other ways to further his own ambition. He collected an army, as did also his sons, Earls Sweyn and Harold, and the three, having united their forces, marched against the king at Gloucester, and demanded the surrender of Eustace and his Frenchmen.

**Riot at Dover.**

**Godwin, ordered to punish the burghers, obeys.**

Edward had been joined, in the meantime, by his nephew,

Ralph, whom he had created Earl of Worcester, as also by the Earls Leofric and Siward at the head of their forces. A conflict was, however, avoided; a truce was agreed to, and hostages exchanged, till matters should be adjusted at the next meeting of the Witan; but, by the time that it was held the forces of Godwin had melted away, and the Witan's first act was to proclaim his son Sweyn an outlaw, after which they summoned Godwin and Harold to appear and answer the charges against them. The accused earls demanded hostages but were indignantly refused, and sentence of banishment, within five days, was pronounced against father and son.

Godwin, Sweyn, and Harold, march with their united forces against the king.

Conflict avoided.

The Witan outlaws Sweyn and summons before them Godwin and Harold, who are banished.

Godwin and Sweyn went to Flanders, Harold and his brother, Leofwin, found refuge in Ireland. Sweyn's outlawry was but the revival of an older sentence, passed on him for his abduction of the Abbess of Leominster, and his treacherous murder of his cousin, Biern. The Queen Editha was involved in the disgrace of her family, and was placed in the Convent of Wherwell, of which Edward's sister was abbess.

A. D. 1061.

At the outbreak of the Godwin rebellion, the king, at the suggestion of the Normans, requested the assistance of William of Normandy. This prince soon after arrived with a powerful fleet; but as all danger was over, he landed with a splendid retinue, and after having been for some days the guest of the king, returned home laden with rich presents. Some think that during this meeting negotiations concerning the succession to the crown were entered into between William and Edward, but there is no positive evidence one way or the other.

Edward asks aid of William of Normandy, who arrives and becomes the guest of Edward for some days.

Meantime Godwin had not been idle, he had collected a small squadron at Bruges with which he determined to attempt a landing; but on observing the royal fleet watching his movements, he managed to escape during a storm and returned to Flanders. The royal admirals were dismissed for their incapacity, and before their successors were appointed the seamen had dispersed. This encouraged Godwin, who again put to sea, and being joined by Harold with a fleet from Ireland, probably of Danish pirates, they sailed up the Thames and passed under one of the arches of London Bridge. There, on the opposite bank of the river lay the royal fleet, supported by a powerful army on the bank. By the mediation of Bishop Stigand, however, a conflict was avoided, and Edward, who had at first re-

A. D. 1062.

Godwin returns and is reconciled to the king.

jected the submission of Godwin, now entered into negotiations with the rebels. This was the signal for the flight of the Normans; Robert, formerly Abbot of Jumièges, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ulf, the Bishop of Dorchester, at the head of their retainers, fled to the coast and took ship to Normandy. Godwin, admitted to an interview with Edward, laid the whole blame of the late troubles on the Normans, and after giving the most solemn assurances of his own and his sons' innocence, gave as hostages for his future good conduct, his son, Wulfnoth, and his nephew, Haco, both of whom were, for greater security, sent to Duke William in Normandy. The estates and titles of Godwin and Harold were restored, Queen Editha returned to court, the foreigners were outlawed by a decision of the Witan, and Stigand, the negotiator throughout these transactions, was rewarded with the See of Canterbury in succession to the expelled Norman, Robert. Of the new metropolitan there is little good to be said; he was unlearned and avaricious, and owed most of his advancement to low worldly arts of cunning and intrigue. Refused recognition by Pope Leo IX., he addressed himself to the usurping Pope Benedict, from whom he sought and obtained the *pallium*. On the expulsion of Benedict and the accession to the papal throne of Alexander II., Stigand was suspended from the exercise of episcopal functions, but still managed to keep his place through the Godwin interest.

Flight of the  
Norman fa-  
vorites.

Godwin's son  
and nephew  
sent to Nor-  
mandy as hos-  
tages.

Archbishop  
Stigand.

Death of  
Godwin.

A. D. 1054.

Earl Siward  
defeats Mac-  
beth and re-  
stores Mal-  
colm to Scot-  
tish throne.

Godwin did not long survive his triumphant return: he fell dead as he was dining at the king's table. His enemies professed to regard his death as the judgment of God to punish his perjury on the occasion. The story is that Godwin, seeing a servant who had slipped regain his balance with the other foot, observed, "See how one brother supports another," upon which the king rejoined, "Yes, and if Alfred were now alive he might also assist me." Godwin felt the sting of the reply, and to strengthen his protestations of innocence of that crime, prayed that if his assertion were untrue the next morsel might choke him, which it did. He was succeeded in his government and honours by his son, Harold, whose own earldom was given to Alfgar, the son of Leofric.

The only foreign war of Edward's reign was that undertaken against the famous Macbeth, who, in 1039, had murdered his sovereign, Duncan, and usurped the Scottish throne. Malcolm, the son of the murdered king, sought

and obtained aid from Edward: Earl Siward, uncle of Malcolm, with a powerful army, accompanied the prince to Scotland, where they were joined by Macduff, Thane of Fife, who had already unfurled the royal banner. At the battle which ensued at Lanfanan, in Aberdeenshire, Macbeth was defeated and slain, and Malcolm restored to his crown and kingdom. Among those who had fallen was young Siward; but his father, on learning that all his wounds were in front, professed that he himself desired no happier death. It was not his lot, he died soon after his return from Scotland; but as he felt his end approaching he had himself clothed in armour and his spear placed in his hand that in this way he might die as he had lived, in a manner becoming a warrior.

Death of Earl Siward.

While this Scotch war was proceeding, a quarrel, leading to a civil war, had arisen between Harold and Alfgar, son of Leofric. Alfgar, who had succeeded to Harold's earldom on the latter's banishment, was, apparently for no sufficient cause, outlawed by the Witan. He fled to Griffith, King of Wales, whose sister he married, and with his aid and a fleet of Irish Danes, returned and laid waste the western or border counties. Hereford was burned, and after various bloody encounters with the royal forces, under Harold, he obtained the reversal of his outlawry, and restoration to his earldom. On the death of his father, he was again outlawed, and again restored himself by force. Tostig, brother of Harold, who had, on the death of Siward, obtained the Earldom of Northumbria, was expelled by an insurrection of the people, and Alfgar's son, Morcar, was chosen in his place. This change Edward, though at first very angry, ultimately sanctioned. Alfgar did not survive his second restoration more than a year, and his death gave Harold the desired opportunity of chastising the Welsh. Griffith defended himself bravely, but his own brothers formed a conspiracy against him; his head was cut off and sent to the English commander. Harold rewarded their treachery by dividing between them the territory of the murdered king, but on condition that they did homage and fealty both to Edward and himself. Welshmen, under the penalty of losing the right hand, were commanded to keep west of Offa's Dyke.

Alfgar is outlawed, but restores himself by force.

Tostig is expelled from Northumbria.

Harold invades and conquers Wales, A. D. 1064.

Edward, feeling himself growing old, invited over from Hungary his nephew, Edward the Outlaw. This prince, no longer the Outlaw, but the Atheling, arrived in

Arrival and Death of Edward the Outlaw.



England with his three children, Edgar, Margaret, and Christina. To the great regret of the nation, however, he sickened and died a few days after his arrival. On this event, an eminent historian\* remarks: "Did the Atheling die a natural death?—the lamentations of the chroniclers seem to imply more than meets the ear." His death left no rivals in the path of Harold, but his son Edgar, a feeble youth, and the Duke of Normandy. Edward, on the death of his nephew, is by some thought to have left the crown by will to William, and to have despatched Harold as the bearer of the message to Normandy. Whether this was so, or whether, according to another account, Harold, in an occasional cruise in the Channel, was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Normandy, where he and his companions were seized, and afterwards conducted to the local baron, Guy, who gave them up to Duke William, it is impossible to say. The English earl found himself somehow in William's Court, and either voluntarily or by constraint, swore that he would support the Norman's accession, and to that end admit a Norman garrison into his castle of Dover. He returned to England laden with presents, and bringing with him Haco, his nephew, one of the two hostages formerly committed to William's care. Wulfnoth, his brother, remained behind as security for Harold's own fidelity. About five weeks after Harold's return, King Edward breathed his last. Before his death the church of St. Peter at Westminster, which he had rebuilt from its foundation from the tithes of his annual revenue, was solemnly dedicated, and in it Edward, who died on the 5th of January, 1066, was on the following day interred with royal pomp. As his end visibly approached, it is said Harold and other earls entered the royal chamber to inquire as to the succession. The king replied: "You know full well, my lords, that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the Duke of Normandy, and are there not those here whose oaths have been given to secure his succession?" Harold, interrupting and approaching nearer the king's bedside, asked on whom the crown should be bestowed. Edward answered: "Harold, take it, if such be thy wish; but it will be thy ruin. Against the duke and his baronage no power of thine can avail thee."

Harold at William's Court: Promises to support his claim to the Crown.

Death of Edward.

No prince of the Saxon line had ever been more popular

\* Sir F. Palgrave.

or more revered by his subjects, and not without cause. Character of Edward. He was just, pious, and charitable, indifferent to his own interests, but vigilant in carrying out the law, and in guarding the country from foreign invasion or aggression. Even the one grievance of his reign—the promotion in Church and State of foreigners and unworthy natives—was ascribed by the people, not to the king, but to his ministers and advisers, who had misled or deceived him.

Edward was the first monarch who touched for the king's evil; also the first to introduce the use of a seal in royal and state documents. His surname of "Confessor" dates from his canonisation by Pope Alexander III., about a hundred years after his death.

Upon the death of Edward the Confessor, there were A. D. 1066. three claimants to the crown—his cousin, William of Normandy; his brother-in-law, Harold; and his grand-nephew, Edgar Atheling, son of Edward the Outlaw. The first two claimants based their pretensions on the devise of the late king. Edgar's claim was the only one founded on hereditary descent, as the sole surviving male of the house of Cerdic.

Of these three, William was away in Normandy, Edgar timid and poor, Harold, mature in age, and for years before the virtual ruler of the country, was alone in a position to avail himself at once of the opportunity. On the very day of King Edward's interment he had the Witan summoned at Westminster, and his succession acknowledged. The clergy, it is said, held aloof, and, with the sole exception of Stigand, the suspended Archbishop of Canterbury, no prelate recognised the new monarch. Nor was his authority universally acknowledged by the people. Many, through fear, paid a sullen obedience; others, especially in the northern earldoms, seemed to have never recognised him.

William was hunting, when a messenger from England appeared, and announced the news of Edward's death and Harold's assumption of the crown. William hears of Harold's accession. The duke dropped his bow, fidgeted nervously with his mantle-clasp, and looked so fierce that it is said none dared to speak to him. Returning to Rouen, he despatched a messenger to Harold demanding that, as his liegeman, he should at once surrender the inheritance and perform the other engagements to which he had bound himself by his oath. To this message Harold replied that he had not the power to comply,

and as to his promise to marry Adela, the duke's daughter, this was a thing which would require the advice and consent of his nobility. Other parts of the reply were insulting, and touched on William's base birth; and on the whole, Harold's answer was at once a refusal and a defiance.

William, meantime, had called a meeting of his barons at Lillebonne, where, by promises of large grants out of the soil they were about to conquer, but mainly through the exhortations of Fitzasbern, he obtained their promise to accompany him to England in support of his claim to the crown bequeathed to him by Edward. Nor did he confine himself to soliciting the aid of his barons; adventurers from other lands were invited to join his standard by promises of like rewards, and in the force which assembled for embarkation at St. Pierre-sur-Dive there were many Bretons, Flemings, and Frenchmen from the central and southern provinces.

Four grounds  
for the invasion.

William justified his invasion on four grounds:—first, the bequest of Edward; second, the perjury of Harold; third, the expulsion of Archbishop Robert and other Normans through Godwin's instigation; and fourth, the massacre of his kinsmen, the Danes, on St. Brice's Day. This elaborate search for colourable pretexts manifests a desire on William's part not to shock the public conscience, and affords evidence of the existence of a public opinion whose influence had already become sufficiently powerful to be taken into account by princes and statesmen.

William was also fortunate in obtaining the sanction of the Pope, who, to mark his detestation of Harold's crime, and as a special testimony of his good wishes for the success of William's expedition, sent to that prince the consecrated banner, the Gonfanon of St. Peter, and a precious ring enclosing a hair of the Prince of the Apostles.

Battle of  
Stamford  
Bridge.

Harold, on sending back his refusal, began preparations for defence. He collected a fleet at Sandwich, with which he sailed along the south coast, and took up his station off the Isle of Wight. From this he was shortly after called to the north to repel a formidable invasion headed by Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, and Tostig, his own brother. The forces met at Stamford Bridge, October 7, 1066, and, though the English were at first giving way, they ultimately won, as the Norwegians, in the eagerness of pursuit, had broken their impregnable shield-wall

array, when the retreating English, turning upon them, gained a decisive though bloody victory. No quarter was asked or given, and Hardrada and Tostig, as well as most of their followers, were slain.

Harold had little time to dwell on this success. On the morrow of the battle, as he was seated at a banquet in honour of it, a thane of Sussex rushed into the hall with the news that William, with a large army, had landed. Harold at once marched south till he came to London, where he halted and prepared for the coming struggle. The aspect of his affairs was gloomy; many of his best soldiers were slain, and but few joined him during his march south. The powerful earls, Edwin and Morcar, held aloof, his wife, Alitha, abandoned him, and many who held by him from a sense of honour and fidelity regarded his cause as unholy. From London Harold set out for the Sussex coast, and pitched his camp at Senlac, since known as Battle, situated about nine miles from Hastings.

Harold marches south and encamps at Senlac, in Sussex.

William's fleet, as by appointment, assembled at St. Pierre-sur-Dive. Of its magnitude, the extreme estimates are 696 and 6,000 vessels. The latter is of course absurd, unless, indeed, small boats count as well as the larger ones. It was at any rate very large for that age, and carried an army of 50,000 or 60,000 men. The armament, after being detained by contrary winds, at length, on the Feast of St. Michael, the patron saint of Normandy, put to sea with a favouring gale, which had just then auspiciously sprung up. The absence of Harold in the north enabled William to land without opposition, which he did at a place between Hastings and Pevensey. As the Norman duke stepped on English ground he stumbled and fell, when some soldiers cried, "*Mal oigne est çì !*" (a bad omen this!) on which William, quickly rising, and showing an earth-clod in his hand, cried out: "No, I have taken seizin\* of the country." On this prompt and happy turn, another soldier rushed to a cottage, and pulling some straws from the thatch, ran back and presented them to William as an additional symbol of possession of the English realm.

Landing of the Normans.

Some attempts at negotiation were made on the part of William, who, it is said, offered to have his claim tried by English law, or submitted to the arbitration of the Pope,

Negotiations fail.

\* Seizin is a term in feudal law which expresses the investment of a person with the right to real property, land, and houses.

or decided by single combat between Harold and himself. These were all rejected, and both sides prepared for battle.

Very different accounts are given of the way in which the two armies spent the night before that event. The English, it is said, spent the time in drinking and revelry, the Normans in prayer and frequenting the sacraments. William himself, on the morning of the battle, received Holy Communion.

The English camp, which was pitched on a hill, was strongly fortified by trenches and palisades, and the men were marshalled in the Norwegian fashion, with shield placed against shield, so as to present an impenetrable front to the enemy. The van was formed by the men of Kent; Harold's body-guard was composed of the burghers of London. In their centre floated the royal standard, beside which stood Harold, with his two brothers, Leofwin and Gurth, and a chosen body of Thanes.

Battle of  
Hastings, 14th  
October, 1066.

On the morning of the 14th of October, the Norman army, after a short exhortation from William to his barons, urging them to maintain his righteous cause, set out in three divisions to the attack. The first division was under the command of William Fitzasbern and Roger Montgomery; the second was led by Aimeric, Viscount of Thouars, and Alan Fergaint of Brittany; the third, over which floated the Gonfalon, was commanded by William himself. Before him rode the minstrel, Taillefer or Cut-iron, singing the song of Charlemagne and Roland, and the brave Paladius, who perished in the pass of Roncevalles. This Taillefer, however, who was not only a minstrel but a brave warrior, craved and obtained the boon of striking the first blow. Spurring his horse, he pierced one Englishman with his lance, and soon after cut down another with his sword, but was himself soon after surrounded and slain. The example of Taillefer kindled the Normans' courage and prepared the way for a general attack, which was made simultaneously by the three divisions. The onset was, however, repulsed by the English who, behind their shield-wall, presented an impenetrable front. After a time the Norman right wing, composed of Bretons, took to flight, and their example was soon after followed by that which was led by the Duke himself. William, who had three horses killed under him during the day, was, in the first retreat, swept away in the rush and reported dead; but

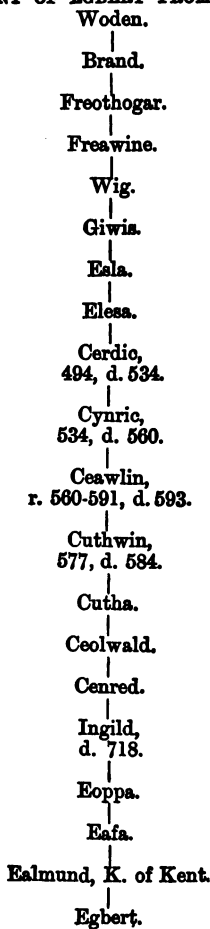
extricated by Count Eustace of Boulogne, he mounted a second horse, threw back his casque, and rode among the fugitives, crying out, "I live, and by God's help I will yet conquer." Having thus rallied his troops, a fiercer attack was made to break the English bulwark, but again it proved unsuccessful. At last William commanded his men to feign flight, and in this way drew the English from their advantageous position. The pretended fugitives, then turning upon them, cut them to pieces. This decided the day. The English line once broken, the press of battle swayed closer to the standard; Gurth, who stood near it, was slain by William himself; Leofwin, another brother, was killed about the same time. William, who had observed that the arrows of his bowmen were spent uselessly on the English shields, directed that they should take higher aim, and in this way a shower of them was poured on the heads of the English, doing great damage. By one of these arrows King Harold, still standing battle-axe in hand, was struck through the eye, and immediately fell. A band of Norman knights thereupon rushed on the standard, and having slain those who still defended it, carried it off. The battle, which had begun at nine o'clock in the morning, had lasted till late in the evening, when the capture of the standard and its replacement by the consecrated Gonfanon, proclaimed the victory of the Norman.

William had his pavilion pitched close to the Gonfanon, and, with his barons, supped in the midst of the slain. The Abbey of Battle, whose high altar marked the spot on which Harold's standard had stood, was erected to commemorate the victory. The abbey was richly endowed; *Battle Abbey.* its franchise extended to one league's distance on all sides; its abbot, freed from authority of Archbishop of Canterbury, held himself archiepiscopal jurisdiction. In the abbey perpetual prayer was to be offered for the repose of the souls of those who had fallen; and in its archives was deposited the roll containing the names of all those who had aided William to his victory, and who afterwards had the land of England shared among them.

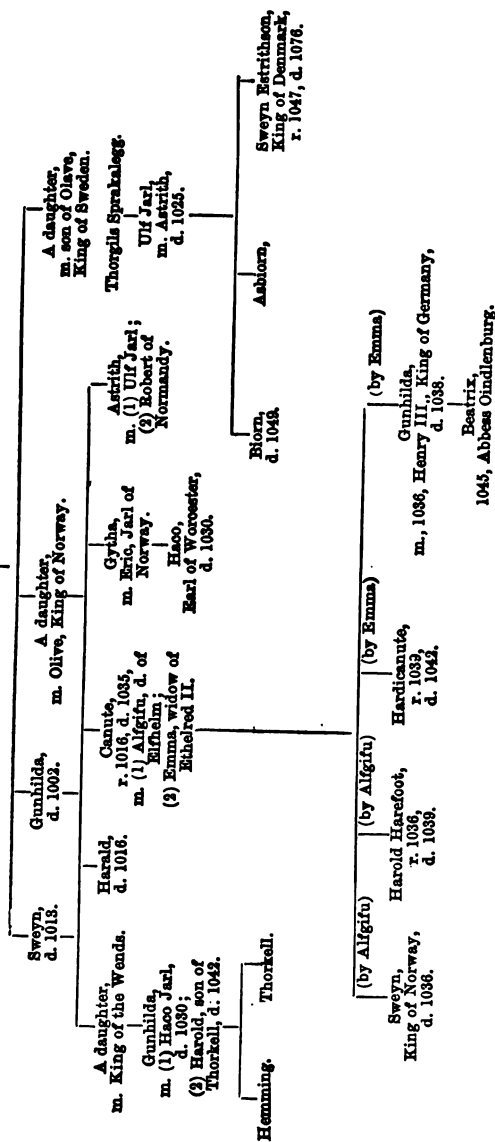
Different stories are told as to the disposal of the body of Harold. One is that William gave up his corpse to his mother, Githa, who had it buried at Holycross. Another account tells us that William ordered the remains of his rival to be interred on the sea-shore, sneeringly adding, "Let him guard the coast which he so madly occupied." A

third, and the one generally accepted is, that two mo Waltham had, by the aid of the lady Editha, identified body, and with the permission of the conqueror had terred with great honour in their own abbey, of Harold had been a munificent patron. His tomb bore epitaph, "Hic jacet Harold infelix"—"Here lies the unfortunate."

## DESCENT OF EGBERT FROM WODEN.

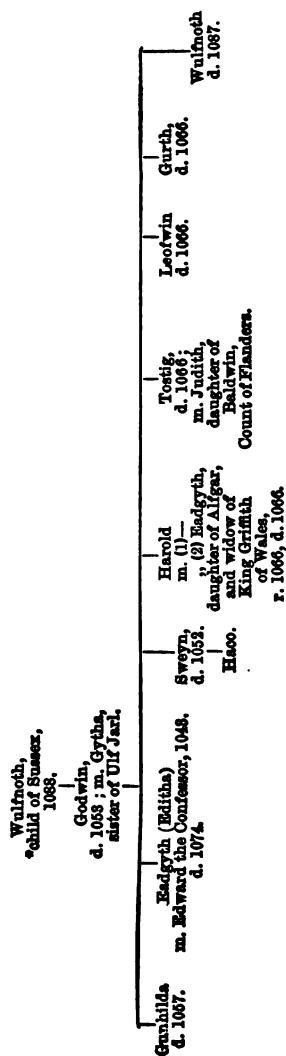


## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE DANISH KINGS.

HAROLD BLATAND.  
935-985.



## GENEALOGY OF GODWIN'S FAMILY.



\*The exact meaning of the title Child is not known with certainty. Dr. Lingard thinks it meant one who, from birth, was heir to some territory or office, while others think it signified the principalthane in a district.

Robert  
r. 800, d. 837, m. Redburgha;

Ethelwulf  
r. 856, d. 857, m. (1) Osburgha; (2) Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald.

Aethelstan, r. 894, d. 939, m. (1) Osburgha; (2) Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald.  
Sub-king of Kent — d. 894, r. 897, d. 940, m. (1) Osburgha; (2) Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald.

Aethelwulf, r. 856, d. 857, m. (1) Osburgha; (2) Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald.

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## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Bretwalda.	Date.	Kings of Wessex.	Events.
477, Ella.	477		
	494	Cerdic and Cynric, his son.	Land at a place after called Cerdic's Ore.
	501	...	Porta, Bleda, and Maegla, land near Portsmouth and slay Geraint, a British prince.
	508	...	Cerdic and Cynric defeat Natanleod and 5,000 Britons.
	514	...	Cerdic's nephews, Stuff and Wightgar, land.
	519	...	Defeat of Britons at Cerdic's Ford.
	530	...	Isle of Wight conquered and given to Stuff and Wightgar.
	534	Cynric.	Cerdic dies and Cynric succeeds.
	560	Ceawlin.	Ceawlin, son of Cynric, succeeds his father.
568, Ceawlin.	568	...	Ceawlin defeats Ethelbert of Kent, and becomes Bretwalda.
	577	...	Ceawlin takes Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath from Britons.
589, Ethelbert.	589	Ceolric.	Ceol, or Ceolric, receives a dependent kingdom from his uncle.
	591	...	Ceolric, aided by Britons and Scots, defeats Ceawlin at Wodensburgh.
	597	Ceolwulf.	Ceolwulf, brother of Ceolric, succeeds him; wars with Britons.
	607	...	Ceolwulf defeats the South Saxons.
Redwald.	611	{ Cyngils and Cuichelm.	Cyngils and Cuichelm reign jointly.
627, Edwin.	627	...	Five kings of Wessex defeated by Edwin of Northumbria.
	628	...	Penda invades Wessex.
635, Oswald.	635	...	Oswald of Northumbria reduces Wessex to subjection.
	638	Cyngils (alone).	Cuichelm dies and Cyngils reigns alone.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued*.

Bretwalda.	Date.	Kings of Wessex.	Events.
42, Oswio.	643	Cenwealh.	Cyngils dies and Cenwealh succeeds.
	645		Cenwealh expelled by Penda.
	660	...	Bishopric of Winchester founded.
	682	Seaxburgha (queen).	Cenwealh dies and his queen, Seaxburgha, rules about a year, the first example of a female sovereign among the Saxons.
	674	Erwin.	Erwin, great-grandson of Ceolwulf, succeeds.
	676	Centwin.	Centwin succeeds on death of Erwin.
	686	Ceadwalla.	Ceadwalla succeeds on death of Centwin.
	689	Ina.	Ina, son of Cenred, succeeds.
	692		Kent submits to Ina.
	722		Ina invades Sussex.
	728	Ethelherd.	Ina resigns in favour of his brother-in-law, Ethelred.
	740	Cuthred.	Cuthred succeeds Ethelred.
		Sigeberht.	Cuthred is succeeded by Sigeberht.
	754	Cynwulf.	Sigeberht deposed by the Witanagemot, and his kinsman, Cynwulf, made king.
	755		
	786	Brigtric	Brigtric succeeds Cynwulf.
	787	...	Brigtric marries Eadburgha, daughter of Offa of Mercia.
	800	...	Brigtric is poisoned by his wife, Eadburgha.
	...	Egbert.	Egbert returns from Gaul to succeed Brigtric.
7, Egbert:	809	(After Egbert	Egbert subdues Wales,
	823	the Kings of Wessex are kings of England).	Egbert comes to the aid of the East Anglians, defeats Beornwulf of Mercia in the battle of Ellandun.
		...	Egbert appoints his son Ethelwulf sub-king of Kent.
	827	...	Egbert defeats Wiglaf, King of Mercia, and in same year receives submission of Northumbria, and so becomes sole monarch of Britain, and eighth Bretwalda.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued*.

Bretwalda.	Date.	Kings of Wessex.	Events.
Egbert— <i>con.</i>	835	...	Battle of Hengsdun Hill, in which Egbert defeats a force of Danes and Britons.
	837	Ethelwulf.	Egbert dies, and is succeeded by Ethelwulf.
	853	...	Ethelwulf goes to Rome, taking with him his youngest son, Alfred.
	856	Ethelbald.	Ethelwulf dies, and is succeeded by Ethelbald.
	860	Ethelbert.	Death of Ethelbald and succession of Ethelbert.
	866	Ethelred.	Ethelbert dies, and is succeeded by Ethelred.
	871	Alfred.	Battle of Escesdune, in which Ethelred is defeated and slain by the Danes. He is succeeded by his brother, Alfred, surnamed the Great.
	876	...	Alfred defeats the Danes, who promise to leave Wessex.
	877	...	Danes break the treaty, and seize Exeter.
	878	...	Danes masters of Wessex.—Alfred conceals himself at Athelney.—Same year Alfred defeats the Danish chief, Guthrum, at the great battle of Ethandun.
	880	...	Guthrum is baptized, and makes treaty with Alfred known as Peace of Wedmore.
	901	Edward the Elder.	Death of Alfred, and accession of his son, Edward the Elder.
	921	...	East Anglia and Essex submit to Edward.—King of Scots acknowledges Edward as his Lord.
	925	Athelstan.	On the death of Edward, his son Athelstan succeeds.
	926	...	Athelstan compels Welsh kings to give tribute, and makes the Tamar the boundary between the Britons and English.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued*.

Bretwalda.	Date.	Kings of Wessex.	Events.
	937	Athelstan.	Battle of Brunaburgh, in which Athelstan defeats the "Five Nations."
	941	Edmund.	Athelstan dies, and is succeeded by his brother, Edmund.
	943	...	Treaty between Edmund and Anlaf, the Dane, by which Watling-street again becomes the boundary between the two peoples.
	945	...	Conquest of Cumbria, which is given to Malcolm of Scotland to hold by military service.
	946	Edred.	Death of Edmund, and accession of his brother, Edred.
	949	...	Subdues Northumbrians, who had rebelled.
	955	Edwy.	Edred dies, and Edwy, his nephew, succeeds.
	959	Edgar.	Edwy dies, and is succeeded by his brother, Edgar.
	973	...	Crowned at Bath.
	974	...	His pageant on the Dee, receives homage of eight vassal kings.
	975	Edward the Martyr.	Edgar dies, and is succeeded by Edward, his son.
	978	Ethelred the Unready.	Edward killed by command of his step-mother, Elfrida, and is succeeded by his brother, Ethelred, called the "Unready."
	1002	...	Ethelred marries Emma of Normandy. — Massacre of St. Brice.
	1013	Sweyn.	Sweyn and his son, Canute, invade England. — Sweyn is acknowledged King, and Ethelred deposed.
	1014	Ethelred restored.	On death of Sweyn, Ethelred returns and expels Canute.
	1016	Edmund.	On the death of Ethelred, Edmund, his son, carries on the war against Canute. — Canute and Edmund make peace and divide the kingdom.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued.*

Bretwalda.	Date.	Kings of Wessex.	Events.
	1017	Canute.	Canute, on the death of Edmund, becomes sole monarch, and marries Ethelred's widow, Emma.
	1027	...	Canute makes a pilgrimage to Rome.
	1031	... ..	Malcolm of Scotland submits to Canute.
	1035	Harold.	Canute dies, and kingdom divided between Harold and Hardicanute.
	1037	...	Harold, King of all England.
	1040	Hardicanute.	Harold dies; Hardicanute, his brother, chosen king.
	1042	Edward the Confessor.	Hardicanute dies, and Edward the Confessor becomes king.
	1045	...	Edward marries Editha, Earl Godwin's daughter.
	1051	...	Edward abolishes the Danegeld.—Rebellion and banishment of Godwin.
	1052	...	William of Normandy visits Edward.—Godwin returns and makes peace with Edward.—Archbishop Robert and other Normans are outlawed.
	1053	...	Godwin dies, and Harold succeeds him as Earl of Wessex.
	1054	...	Siward, Earl of Northumbria, enters Scotland with an army, defeats the usurper, Macbeth, and restores Malcolm.
	1055	...	Harold conquers Wales.
	1057	...	Return and death of Edward the Outlaw.
	1063	...	Harold again invades Wales, King Griffith's head is sent to him, and the territory of the murdered king is given to his brothers, who take oaths of fealty both to Harold and Edward.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued*.

Bretwalda.	Date.	Kings of Wessex.	Events.
	1066	Harold II.	Death of Edward; Harold elected King. — Battle of Stamford Bridge, in which Harold defeats his brother, Tostig, and Harold Hardrada. — William of Normandy sails from St. Valery, in Normandy, and lands at Pevensey, in Sussex, whence he marches to Hastings. — In Battle of Senlac, near Hastings, fought on 14th Oct., 1066, Harold is slain. With him ends the line of Saxon kings.

The Saxon institutions in England were the modified outgrowth of those that characterized them in their German home. Tacitus informs us of the band of devoted retainers who surrounded each chief, and who deemed it their pride and duty to fight by his side in war, as well as to accompany him as friends and companions in peace. This relation of chief and retainer was the keystone of Teutonic social organisation, and the germ of what afterwards became the oppressive and elaborate system of feudalism. Though this system in its full maturity was only introduced into England after the conquest, yet in all essential features it had long existed under the Saxon monarchy. The mutual obligations involved in this relation were regarded as specially sacred; their violation was deemed the most heinous of crimes; King Alfred declared it inexpiable, and the law punished the offender with forfeiture and death. The following is the form of oath taken by the vassal when becoming the "*man*" of his lord. Placing his hands between those of the latter, he said: "By the Lord, I promise to be faithful and true; to love all that thou lovest, and shun all that thou shunnest, conformably to the laws of God and man; and never in will or weald (power), in word or work, to do that which thou loathest, provided thou hold me, as I mean to serve and fulfil the conditions to which we agreed when I subjected myself to thee and chose thy

Feudalism in  
Anglo-Saxon  
times.



will." Breaches of the contract generally turned on this last elastic clause. A sub-vassal generally followed his immediate chief even against the king himself, as we see in the case of Godwin and his sons, who, though themselves "loth to march against their king-lord," were yet cheerfully followed by their "men."

Though feudalism as a complete system did not exist among the Saxons, all its elements did. The feudal relation implied two elements: first, the personal tie between lord and vassal, which involved reciprocal obligations of protection on the one side, and fidelity and loyalty on the other; and secondly, tenure of land by military service. Now, of these the former was virtually that which bound a Teutonic lord and his thanes, while military tenure or the grant of land to be held on condition of rendering military service, was practised by the barbarian chiefs in all those portions of the Roman Empire which they had invaded. This mode of bounty was probably suggested, certainly strengthened, by the example of the Roman frontier soldiery who held their lands on this condition. The Saxons who found few traces of Roman occupation in Britain had, however, no such instance before them, a circumstance which, as Mr. Freeman\* thinks, helps to account for the comparatively slow growth of feudalism in England.

Examples of  
Feudal rela-  
tions in Eng-  
land during  
Saxon period.

Among the incidents of feudalism that were present in Anglo-Saxon social life were homage, military tenure, and heriots. The submission of the East Anglians to Egbert was an act of homage; so the grant of Cumbria made by Edward the Elder to Malcolm was feudal in its character. "Under Edgar the feudal system was carried to its full extent," says Sir F. Palgrave. The system itself he ascribes to the admixture of Roman Law with Teutonic Custom. Feudalism was probably introduced as a public policy by Egbert in imitation of what he had seen when an exile at the court of Charlemagne. The East Angles received him as their "Lord, Defender, and Protector," terms similar to those used by the vassals of Charlemagne to that monarch. So, again, Wiglaf, the King of Mercia, surrendered his kingdom to Egbert, and then received it back, to hold as a benefice or military fief from the victor. Alfred's grant of Mercia to the ealdorman, Ethelred, was of the same nature; but the Saxon monarch who carried

\* Freeman's "Norman Conquest," vol. i., p. 98.

feudalism to its greatest extent was Edgar. In the relations and dealings of that king with the King of the Scots and the under-kings of Wales, every incident of feudalism is present: the act of homage, grant of territory, oath of fealty, promise of military service, attendance at court of suzerain, submission to the jurisdiction of the tribunal, aid given by lord to dependent according to engagement, and lastly, punishment for violation of the bond. These points are also illustrated in the dealings of Edward the Confessor, through his lieutenant, Harold, with Griffith, King of Wales, and his two brothers, Blethyn and Rywallon. The oaths of fealty given by the Scots to Edred are another instance of this feudal relation. The Saxon chronicle's words are: "The Scots gave him (Edred) their oaths that they would will whatever he would will." Heriots were contributions made by the heirs of a military retainer in lieu of the arms which it was at first customary for the king to give his followers. The word heriot is not found before the time of Canute, but there is evidence that the custom existed long before. It generally consisted of horses, armour, and money. Heriots varied with the person's rank. A law of Canute says: "Let the heriots be as fits the degree; an earl's as belongs to an earl's rank, viz., eight horses, four saddled, four unsaddled, four helmets, four coats of mail, eight spears, eight shields, four swords, and two hundred mancuses in gold. From a king's thane of those who are nearest him, four horses, two saddled and two unsaddled, two swords, four spears, four shields, a helmet, a coat of mail, and fifty mancuses of gold." The heriot of the Saxons corresponded to the *Relief* of the Normans. A villain's heriot was the best beast, horse, ox, cow, possessed at his death.

Heriots

To a certain extent wardship, so oppressive a feature of feudalism under the Normans, existed also in Saxon times; thus, if a tenant died leaving only a daughter, the lord might give her in marriage to a knight, in order that the services due from the land might be duly rendered. Again, a widow holding her husband's lands in dower could not marry again without leave of the king. Whatever services a lord owed a king, the same his tenants owed the lord. They were to aid him towards the *fyrd*, or military force of his district, to pay taxes. If guilty of neglect of these or of certain other offences, or if banished the country, their land escheated to the lord.

Wardship and marriage.

Escheat.

**Suit of Court.** Suit of court was a mark of subjection, and an incident of all lands held by tenure of military service.

**Division of the Land.**—The land of Britain after the Saxon conquest became, as with other German peoples, the property of the State. It was parcelled out among the people in suitable allotments, to be held during certain periods or terms, after which it was to revert back to the State. It was, however, usual for the king with the approval of the Witan to confer on distinguished or meritorious persons estates in perpetuity, which estates, from the custom of conveying them by writing, became known as **boc-land** (book-land) in contradistinction to the other or **fole-land**. When a person let land to another for any estate less than his own, it was termed **læn** (loan) land. The **boc-land** was exempted from certain burdens to which other lands were subject; but there were three things from which no land whatever were exempt, viz., *faesten-geweorc*, or repair of fortresses; *bryg-geweorc*, or repair and construction of bridges, and the *fyrð-færeldæ*, or military and naval service. By the Latin writers they are spoken of as the *trinoda necessitas*, or threefold obligation. Occasionally, however, **boc-lands** owed other services, such as contributions to the royal household when the king happened to be in the neighbourhood, entertainment of the royal messengers and attendants, maintenance of horses, hounds, or hawks for the king, and sometimes the **ealdorman**, with many other matters which need not be further enumerated. Land conferred absolutely on individuals, subject to no superior and to no burdens but those imposed by the State, was denoted by the words '*edhel*, *odal*, or *alod*'. Before writing was introduced **alodial** possessions were transferred by various signs, a portion of thatch, a twig, clod of earth, &c. **Boc-lands** were nothing more than the same **alodial** estates where these rude symbols of creation or conveyance were replaced by writing.

**Alodial land becomes boc-land.**

**Social grades among the Saxons.** *Classes of the Saxon Population.*—The first great division of the people was into freemen and slaves. The freemen themselves were again sharply divided into two great classes, *eorl* and *ceorl*, that is, noble and common. At the head of the noble or *eorl* class stood the king and queen; then the *ethelings* or princes of the blood; next the *earldormen*, corresponding to the continental *dux* or duke, but merged later by the Danish monarchs into *eorl* or *earl*, a mere officer of the king. Below the **ealdorman** or **earl**,

and above the simple freemen or *ceorl*, was a body of gentry or lesser nobility, called *thanes*, from the a. s. verb, *thegnian* or *thenian*, to serve. Of these some, distinguished by superior power and privileges, were known as king's *thanes*.

*The King.\**—The name and office of king seem alike unknown to the Saxons before their arrival into Britain, as they continued unknown for a long period after among their continental brethren. The only position bearing any resemblance to the kingly office was that of the *heretoga*, or commander-in-chief. Sir Francis Palgrave thinks that the Anglo-Saxon commanders adopted the title and insignia of kings in imitation of the British kings, whom they dispossessed and succeeded.

The succession to the throne, though not strictly hereditary, was yet confined to a certain family or caste, the real or pretended descendants of Woden. The principal deviation from the modern law was in the preference of a deceased monarch's brother, of mature age, to his sons, when they happened to be minors. Examples of this are seen in the case of Alfred, who excluded the children of his elder brother, of Edred preferred to his nephews Edwy and Edgar, of Edward the Confessor, preferred to his nephew, Edward the Outlaw. The king was elected by the Witanagemot, or Council of Wise men, but was not deemed fully king till after the ceremony of coronation. The Witan, also, on extreme occasions, exercised the power of deposition, as in the case of Sigeberht and Ethelred II.

The king had a right to call out the *fyrð*, or army of freemen; he could convene meetings of Witanagemot, and with its concurrence introduce new or modify old legislation. He was the head of the law, and in his name the various courts administered justice; he was the fountain of honour, and could confer rank and dignity on those he liked. His word was sacred, no man's oath being receivable against it. He could in all cases delay execution of convicted offenders, and, in some cases at least, grant full pardon.

The King.

Origin of.

Succession.

Examples of deviation from law of hereditary succession.

Elected by Witan.

Power.

Right of pardon.

\* The following etymologies have been proposed for king:—

- (1.) From *Cyn*, kin, tribe, nation, and *ing* a patronymic, so that *cyning* or king = son of the nation. (Allen.)
- (2.) From *konnen* to *can*, to be able, so that king means the "able man." (Adelung).
- (3.) From Celtic *cen* or *cean*, head or chief. (Palgrave).

King's dignity and pre-eminence.

The king's dignity and pre-eminence were marked by the higher money-value set on his life, and the higher penalties for all transgressors in his presence, or against his person or property. His wergild was, in Northumbria, double that of an archbishop, and fifteen times that of a thane, while in Mercia it equalled that of six thanes or thirty-six ceorls. His *burh-bryce*, i. e., the estimate set on injury to his dwelling, was 120 shillings; that of an archbishop, 90; of a bishop or thane, 60; of a ceorl or simple freeman, 5. Fighting within the royal palace was punishable by death and forfeiture; and when the king honoured a subject by drinking under his roof, offences committed in his presence were punishable by double fine. Theft by one freeman from another was to be restored threefold, from the king ninefold.

His revenue.

The king's revenue arose from his crown lands, which, however, he could not dispose of without the Witan's permission. From private estates which, like any other freeman, he might hold; from *naturalia* originally voluntary gifts become in time compulsory; from the fines and forfeitures of offenders; from harbour, road, and river tolls; from mines and minerals; and from the heriots of his earls and thanes. Among other royal rights that of coining money, of granting right of market, with power to levy tolls and keep the peace therein; of *œdificatio*, or right of compelling freemen to aid in building or fencing his residence, and of forest or forest-ban, which became so oppressive in the reigns of the Conqueror and his sons.

Officers of the King.

The royal officers comprised:—

The Referendary (Referendarius) who drew up the king's charters;

The Chancellor (Cancellarius)—[a certain Wolsey held it in time of Edward the Confessor.]

The Chief Butler (Pincerna).

The Stallere, or horse-thane (Constabularius regis), or banner-bearer, the most powerful man in the kingdom next the king.

The Bower-thane, or Chamberlain (Cubicularius).

The Grand Carver or Dish-thane.

The Hrægel-thane or Keeper of the Wardrobe.

The King's Peace.

The king's peace, which extended to the sweep of a radius of 3 miles, 3 furlongs, 3 acre-breadths, 9 feet, 9 palms, and 3 barleycorns from the Court, was proclaimed at intervals along the royal roads, i. e., the four Roman roads—

Watling-street, Fosse-way, Ikenyld-street, and Irmin-street. The peace was also to be observed during the coronation week, and at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when the king appeared in state and presided over the meetings of the Witanagemot. Since the Conquest the king's peace is proclaimed once for all at the coronation, and instead of being confined to the royal roads, the king's highways—that term in time came to include all ordinary town-connecting roads. The king's peace might be given by the king's personal pledge, or by royal writ and seal.

Besides the various titles of King of Britain, King of the Saxons, King of the Angles, King of the Saxons and Angles, some English monarchs assumed the Greek title of *Basileus*, a title exclusively claimed by the Byzantine Emperors, and used by no other monarch of Western Europe except those of England. Among the Saxon kings who so styled themselves are Athelstan, Edgar, Ethelred, and Edward the Confessor.

"Title of  
"Basileus."

The queen at first was crowned with the king, but in Wessex, on the expulsion of Eadburgha for poisoning her husband, Brightric, the Witan decreed that thenceforth the king's wife should not be crowned, and that instead of the title of queen she should take that of lady. The first to disobey this decree was Judith, the youthful queen of Ethelwulf, who, having been married and crowned in France, insisted on continuing to wear her crown in England.

The Queen.

The Ealdorman was next in rank to the royal family. He was at the head of the civil and military government of his territory. Like the king he had generally private estates, other estates during office, and a share in the fines which were levied in his government. He had, in a less degree, many of the privileges and rights mentioned in the case of the king; his house gave three days' sanctuary, and the man who fought in his presence was heavily fined. The dignity was not hereditary. The appointment was in the power of the Crown, with the consent of the Witan. Canute reduced the power of the ealdorman, who about this time begins to be known as *eorl* or *earl*, to whom, along with the bishop and sheriff, the king's writs were henceforth issued. The modern city alderman represents the name, but not the power or rank of the vanished ealdorman.

The Ealdor-  
man.

The Gerefa : various grades of.

*The Gerefa or Reeve.*—The etymology of this word is unknown, but Mr. Kemble thinks it denoted persons of very different degrees of dignity and power; from one who gave law to a shire to one who managed a private gentleman's estate. There were the *high-reeve*, whose functions and character are not clearly known; the *shire-reeve* or sheriff, at first probably the popularly-elected head of the county court, but later sharing this power with the ealdorman and bishop. The sheriff also had a share in the civil government, and was the chief fiscal officer of the county, levying all fines and collecting the taxes. The king's gerefa or royal reeve; he probably superintended the king's domains, and led the royal tenants in the general levy. *Borough-reeve* seems to have been a royal officer charged with the defence of a *burh*, or fortified town; similar to him were the *port-gerefa*, or port-reeve, and *vic-gerefa*, or village-reeve, though these terms are hard to define as well as hard to distinguish one from the other tun-gerefa, or town-reeve, or manor-reeve, that is the bailiff of an estate. *Swan-gerefa*, or swan-reeve, was the reeve of the forest-court, or swain-moot.

Thanes : their privileges.

*Thanes.*—As before stated the class of thanes included the lesser nobility or gentry, those below the ealdorman or earl, but above the simple freeman or ceorl. In dignity and privileges they seemed to have differed among themselves, as we read of greater and lesser thanes, of king's thanes, or ealdorman's thanes, and prelate's thanes. The heriot of a higher thane was four times that of a lower thane, while we read that the life-value of a king's thane, lower thane, and ceorl, were respectively rated at 1,200, 600, and 200 shillings. Again, a king's thane required as compurgators 12 of his equals, but a lower thane 11 of his equals and one king's thane. Latin writers translate thanes by the word *milites*, while Alfred, on the other hand, translates every Latin term denoting a military character in Bede, by the Anglo-Saxon thane. Every thane was required to possess at least five hides of land, and the ceorl by whose family this quantity had been possessed for three generations, was regarded as of gentle blood or thane-born. The rank and privileges of thaneship was also conferred on the merchant who, in his own ship and with a cargo of his own wares, had made three voyages to foreign countries.

"Law of promotion."

Ceorls.

*Ceorls.*—This class consisted of two divisions: first, the

oc-men, or free ceorls, who held land by service and could choose their own lords; and, secondly, those attached to the soil of the lord's manor, and transferable by sale, gift, or bequest. They were, however, freemen and had certain rights recognised by the law, and could not be dispossessed of their holdings as long as they performed their customary services. Of this class, whose condition closely resembled that of slaves proper, there are enumerated in Domesday 183,000.

*Theowes or serfs.*—This class in Domesday numbered 26,000. It is probable that they were either found or made by the Saxons in the course of their conquest. That they, in the main, consisted of vanquished Britons, seems countenanced by the increase of their numbers towards the Welsh border. The supply was afterwards kept up from among the Saxons themselves, who, by various means, might sink into this degrading position. Among these causes of post-natal slavery were:—

1. Capture in war.
2. Marriage of a free person with a slave.
3. Voluntary settlement in the place set apart for slaves.
4. Voluntary surrender through want or debt.
5. By superior legal power; thus the father could sell his son or daughter under seven, while those over thirteen could sell themselves.

Modes of becoming serfs.

6. Those who could not pay the legal fine or were-gild.

The enslavement of a freeman took place before a number of witnesses. The wretched man, laying on the ground his sword and lance, took up the bill and goad the emblems of serfdom, then falling on his knees, he placed his head in the hands of his new master. The lot of the slaves was greatly ameliorated by Christianity, and the clergy never ceased to inculcate on their masters, especially on dying penitents, the duty of manumission.

Manumission

*Laws.*—Several Anglo-Saxon monarchs drew up systems or rather sets of laws for the use of their kingdoms. These systems resembled each other very much; in all, the criminal portion, as occurs with all barbarous communities, greatly preponderated.

*Laws of Ethelbert, King of Kent, 560-616.*—These were the "Dooms" established with the consent of the Witan, in the days of St. Augustine. They refer chiefly to monetary fines for various offences. Those against the Church are first enumerated and constitute the only novel feature.



This code is written in English, and is the first example of a system of jurisprudence in a barbarous tongue.

*Laws of Ina, King of Wessex, about 700.*—These were more extensive than the code of Ethelbert. As Wessex absorbed the other kingdoms, the laws of Ina formed the basis for those of all England. They are partially derived from those of Ethelbert, and resemble them in character.

*Laws of Alfred, 871-901.*—Alfred was not so extensive a legislator as tradition would lead us to suppose. The chief distinction between the laws of Alfred and the two previous is that he seeks to strengthen the authority of his system by aid of the Scriptures and the teaching of the Church. The Ten Commandments, Mosaic precepts on civil government, and the canons of the Council of Jerusalem, form the introduction. He acknowledges that his code is, for the most part, a selection from the laws of his predecessors, but supplemented by some new ones made by himself with consent of his Witan.

*Laws of Offa, King of Mercia,* were not preserved in separate form, but may have formed the basis of a distinct code promulgated by Alfred for the use of the Mercians.\*

*Laws of Edward the Elder.*—A writ of this king is extant dealing with market regulations, as also certain laws made at Exeter for the kingdom of Wessex.

*The Laws of Canute.*—The best testimony to the justice of these laws is that their observance was demanded by clergy and nobles from Edward the Confessor at his accession. These laws, from the new sanction then received, came to be known as the Laws of Edward himself. This is the meaning of the expression, Laws of the Confessor, which, at the Conquest, the English eagerly asked and obtained from William.

The following tables, taken from "Knight's Pictorial History of England," will give an idea of the prominence of penal legislation in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. The first exhibits an analysis of the eighty-nine laws of the code of Ethelbert; the second gives, under the specified heads, the number of laws passed by the monarchs most active in legislation from Alfred to Canute:—

\*A surmise of Sir F. Palgrave.

TABLE I.—LAWS OF  
ETHELBERT.

Assault on the person,	58
Attacks on property,	11
Offences against females,	15
Declaratory of rights,	5
<b>Total,</b>	<b>89</b>

It is thus seen that of the 89 laws contained in Ethelbert's code, 81 are penal, that is, refer to crimes against person or property.

TABLE II. ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATION  
FROM ALFRED TO CANUTE.

	Declaratory Laws.	Penal.	Procedure.	Religious.	Canonical.	Moral.	Total.
Alfred.	6	32	3	12	—	13	66
Edward the Elder.	2	8	1	—	—	—	11
Athelstan.	4	18	1	2	—	—	25
Edmund.	8	9	—	—	—	—	17
Edgar.	6	5	—	97	55	—	163
Ethelred.	1	2	2	32	—	—	5
Canute.	15	34	10	32	7	6	104
<b>Total,</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>391</b>

*Courts of Justice.*—The lowest jurisdiction among the Saxons was that known as “*sac and soc*.” It was aristocratic in its nature, regulating the affairs of the dependents of a common lord, and was the origin of the modern manorial courts baron and courts leet. In early times, from the habit of holding these meetings in the lord's hall, they were called *hall-mote*. Next to the *hall-mote*, in the ascending order, was the *mote* of the hundred. It met once a month under the presidency of the chief officer of the hundred, accompanied by the clergy and freemen, and the reeve, and four men from each township. Once a year an extraordinary meeting was held, when all males above twelve were to attend, and the condition of the tythings and town-guilds were inquired into. Sometimes the ealdorman might convene a court for matters affecting several hundreds, or the third of a shire; the former was known as the court of the *lathe*, and the latter of the *trything*.\*

*Hall-mote.*

*Hundred-mote.*

\* The modern word riding, or ryding, is supposed to be a corruption of *trything*.

**Shire-mote.** Next above the mote of the hundred came the shire-mote, or county court, which was held twice each year, in the months of May and October. The shire-mote was presided over by the ealdorman and bishop with equal authority; the sheriff and principal thanes acted as assessors. At the meeting of the shire-mote, the principal land-holders within the county were compelled to attend in person or by their steward, and in case of the latter's inability, by deputing the chaplain, bailiff, and four respectable tenants.

**Appeal to the King.** From these inferior courts an appeal lay to the king, who for that purpose might revise the decision himself, or might assemble a court for the purpose from among the clergy and thanes in attendance, and the chief men of the neighbourhood in which the appeal reached him.

But the highest court in the kingdom was the "mickle synoths," or Witanagemot, which met on the three great annual festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Its legal powers are not exactly known, probably they were never clearly defined. The following account of the rights, functions, and constitution of this assembly is taken in the main from Mr. Kemble's "Saxons in England."

**Its members.** *The Witanagemot.*—This was the High Council of the realm, and composed of the king, the ethelings, or princes of the blood, the archbishops, bishops, and greater abbots, sheriffs, and kings' thanes. The members of the Witan are denoted sometimes by the Latin terms *majores natu, sapientes, senatores, primates, optimates, magnates*, &c. The number present at a meeting rarely exceeded a hundred; the largest number of signatures met with by Mr. Kemble is one hundred and six. A meeting in Winchester, in 934, was attended by the king, four Welsh princes, two archbishops, seventeen bishops, four abbots, twelve ealdormen, and fifty-two thanes. The Witan was summoned by the king, and generally met at one of the royal residences. According to Mr. Kemble, it possessed the following rights and powers:—

- Its powers.**
- (1.) It had a right to be consulted on every public act of the king.
  - (2.) In framing new laws, their examination and approval by the Witan were first necessary; in a word, they shared the legislative power jointly with the king.
  - (3.) The Witan had the right of taking part in settling the terms of treaties of peace or alliance.
  - (4.) As the supreme council, they had the right of elect-

ing the king, that is, from among the members of the royal family.

(5.) The Witan might depose a king for gross misrule or misconduct injurious to his people. The Saxon chronicle, referring to Sigeberht, King of Wessex, says: "This year (755) Cynewulf and the Witan of the West Saxons deprived his kinsman, Sigeberht, of his kingdom, except Hampshire, for his unjust deeds." Mr. Freeman adds the instance of Ethelred both deposed and restored by the Witan. These are the only known cases before the Conquest; after the Conquest there are the cases of Edward II. and Richard II., both formally deposed by the parliament."

(6.) The Witan was consulted on appointments of prelates to vacant sees.

(7.) The Witan had a joint authority with the king to levy taxes for public objects.

(8.) The Witan had a similar right in raising land and sea forces when required.

(9.) It had the power to recommend grants of land, or to agree to conversion of fole-land into boc-land.

(10.) It could adjudge the lands of offenders to be forfeited to the king.

(11.) It was the supreme court of justice.

*Modes of Trial.*—In the various causes brought before these courts, those who owed suit to the court, that is, the free tenants, were the judges. In deciding property cases, the evidence of the court, or witnesses before whom the transaction on which it was claimed took place, had to be produced. In the absence of evidence, or where it could not be obtained, the party was required to support his case by his own oath and the oaths of a certain number of his neighbours who had a knowledge of his character and affairs. The number of such *compurgators*, or fellow-swearers varied: it was in some cases fixed by the law, in others left to the discretion of the court. In all cases of compurgation, the value of the oath depended on the rank of the person taking it; thus, that of a thane was worth those of six ceorls, while that of an ealdorman or bishop was, again, worth those of six thanes or thirty-six ceorls. The simple word of an archbishop, like that of the king, was sacred. In the criminal procedure of the hundred-mote, the reeve, with twelve chief thanes, were appointed to inquire into all offences committed within the hundred. They swore to accuse no guiltless man. In the case of a

*Compurgators*

private accuser, he had to swear that he was not actuated by malice, envy, or lucre. This oath required to be supported by those of seven compurgators. If accused lived under a lord, he or his steward might swear that the accused had not failed in oath or ordeal since last gemot. In such a case the prisoner might then prove his innocence either by compurgation or by ordeal. In compurgation, his own oath of innocence was supported by those of his compurgators, who deposed that they believed the oath of the accused to be "upright and clean." These compurgators were neighbouring freeholders acquainted with prisoner's concerns, and who had never been guilty of perjury, theft, or other great crime. In case the favourable testimony of the lord were refused, a greater number of compurgators was required.

Ordeal: (1).  
by water. (2).  
by fire.

In the case of trial by the ordeal the accused spent three days in fasting, prayer, and receiving the sacraments, after which he made once more an oath of his innocence. The more usual ordeals were by hot water and by fire. For the first the liquid was heated in a vessel in a corner of the church, and all strangers having been excluded, the accuser and accused, each accompanied by twelve friends, approached and formed two lines opposite to each other. After the recitation of prayers, one from each line stepped forth to satisfy themselves that the water boiled and was of the proper depth. This agreed on, the accused advanced, and plunging his bare arm into the liquid, drew out the weight of iron or stone placed at the bottom. The scalded limb was then wrapped in a clean linen cloth and sealed. On the third day it was opened, when if it were found quite healed the accused was pronounced innocent, but if not he was judged guilty and suffered accordingly. In the ordeal by fire, a line nine feet (of the prisoner's) long was measured near the fire. It was divided into three equal parts. At one end was a small stone pillar, on which was placed a piece of iron one pound weight, which had been heated in the fire from the commencement of Mass to the last Collect. This iron the prisoner grasped, and stepping along the line marked out, flung it down when he had reached the end. The treatment of the burn and the inference of guilt or innocence were similar to those in the case of the hot water ordeal. In both forms of ordeal the refusal of the lord to give evidence for the accused trebled the difficulty; the water was three times deeper, and the

weight of iron and the distance it was to be carried were three times greater than in the case where such evidence was given. The two degrees are sometimes called the simple and triple ordeal.

The most prevalent forms of crime among the Anglo-Saxons were those of violence to the person and theft and robbery. In cases of violence the punishment was a money compensation, which varied with the rank of the person slain or injured. When the injury was not fatal, the limb or organ injured, as well as the gravity of the injury, was taken into account in settling the amount of the compensation. These money damages for life or limb were called *were*, or *were-gild*. The were of a ceorl was 200 shillings, of a lesser thane 600 shillings, and of a royal thane 1,200 shillings. The were of a king was six times that of an etheling, three times that of a royal thane. These proportions somewhat varied in the different Saxon kingdoms. In Northumbria the *were* of the king was 30,000 thrymsas; that of an archbishop, 15,000; of a thane, 2,000; of a ceorl, 266. The Anglo-Saxons were the only German people among whom the king had a special were-gild. The following examples from the laws of Ethelbert show the minuteness with which the were was adjusted, according to the seriousness of the injury, and the real or presumed importance of the member affected:—

If scalp be cut to the bone, ...	...	...	...	3 shillings.
If skull bone be injured, ...	...	...	...	4 "
If outer skull bone be fractured, ...	...	...	...	10 "
If shoulder be lamed, ...	...	...	...	20 "
If hearing in one ear be destroyed, ...	...	...	...	25 "
If an ear be cut off, ...	...	...	...	12 "
If a piece of the ear be cut off, ...	...	...	...	6 "
For each front tooth, ...	...	...	...	6 "
For those next them on each side, ...	...	...	...	4 "
A blow on the nose with the fist, ...	...	...	...	3 "
A thumb cut off, ...	...	...	...	20 "
A great toe cut off, ...	...	...	...	10 "
Chin bone fractured, ...	...	...	...	20 "

*Shires, Hundreds, Tythings.*—The division of England into shires is much older than the date of Alfred, to whom this, like so many other things, has been ascribed. Some shires are co-extensive with the limits of what were anciently separate kingdoms, as Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, Kent, Cornwall, and Cumberland. Others are the dismemberments of larger states. Some large shires, as Yorkshire, were divided into thirds, or *trythings*, corrupted into *ryding*, for each of which a separate court was held at stated intervals.

Were-gild.

Shires, Hundreds, Tythings.

The origin of the division into hundreds has been the subject of much discussion. A hundred hydes of land, a hundred free families, a hundred tythings, a hundred freemen, are among the proposed explanations. North of the Trent the hundred was called a *wapentake* (weapon-touch), from the custom observed at the installation of the ealdorman, who, on dismounting from his horse, fixed his spear in the ground, which was then touched by the spears of the freemen present in mark of subjection. Some shires had divisions called *lathe*s, which included several hundreds; for them, as for trythings, special courts were held, called *lathe-courts*.

*Tythings*.—These were groups of freemen, each containing ten persons, bound together by the link of mutual suretyship. To one of these tythings all, except those whose property afforded sufficient security for their good conduct, were bound to belong. The tything was collectively responsible for the acts of each of its members. In case of the escape of a criminal member, the tything was allowed thirty-one days to bring him back; but if they failed, then they were to prove that they did not connive at his escape, otherwise they were to make good any deficiency in the culprit's property to satisfy justice for his offence. These tythings, or collective Frank pledge, were unknown in Northumbria. There was also the responsibility of the lord for his vassals, or seignorial Frank pledge. The privilege of compurgation was refused to one not in Frank pledge.

#### NORMAN KINGS.

#### WILLIAM, SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR, 1066-1087.

##### CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	King of Scotland.	King of France	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Henry IV.	Malcolm III.	Philip I.	Sancho II. Alphonso VI.	Alexander II., d. 1073. Gregory VI., d. 1085. Victor III., d. 1087.

After the death of Harold, Edgar the Atheling was proclaimed king, mainly through the support of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury; Aldred, Archbishop of York; and William, Bishop of London. His extreme youth—he was

probably not more than nine or ten years old—not to speak of an inherent weakness and inconstancy of character, rendered him utterly unfit to cope with the difficulties of his situation, and his elevation proved little better than an idle form.

Pretenders to throne on death of Harold.

Edwin and Morcar, probably encouraged by the example of Harold, had aspired to the crown themselves, but having met no encouragement, afterwards retired to their own earldoms, and so rendered further resistance to the invader hopeless.

William, who had waited in his camp five days expecting the arrival of deputations tendering the submission of the nation, finding that none such had come, set out on the sixth day for Romney, then an important harbour, though now somewhat removed from the sea. From this, after taking vengeance for the murder of some Normans by the inhabitants, he set out for Dover, whose fortress surrendered to him without resistance. From Dover he marched to Canterbury, and was met on the way by messengers bearing tribute and hostages. The example of Canterbury was followed by that of the other Kentish towns. Winchester, where Editha, Edward's widow, resided, submitted to his messengers, and sent tribute.

William's movements after the battle.

William next set out for London, and as he approached the city, sent forward a body of 500 knights, who easily defeated a sally of the citizens, and set fire to Southwark, the southern suburb. This, however, did not procure the surrender of the city, and when William himself arrived he did not attempt to cross the Thames till he came to Wallingford. There he passed the river into Mercia, and continued his march till he came to Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire. Here William received the submission of Edgar Atheling, of the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, of the Bishops of Worcester and Hereford, and of many of the chief men of London and other parts. By them he was invited to assume the crown, a request with which, after having first consulted his officers, he expressed his readiness to comply.

William invited to assume the crown.

William made preparations to march to London for his coronation, but first took the precaution of having erected on the confines of the city a small fort, whose garrison might serve to overawe the turbulent citizens. Out of this, then probably a wooden structure, grew in time the Tower of London.

A. D. 1066.



The coronation. Arch-bishop Aldred officiates.

Christmas was the time appointed for the coronation, which was to be performed in the Church of St. Peter's, at Westminster. Nothing was omitted that might add solemnity and pomp to the occasion, and on the appointed day the newly-dedicated minster of the Confessor was filled to overflowing with a mixed crowd of Normans and Saxons. The right of consecrating the new monarch, and of placing the crown on his head, belonged of right to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but William refused to be crowned by Stigand, the present archbishop, on the ground that he had procured his elevation by unlawful means. Aldred, Archbishop of York, accordingly took his place, and performed the coronation ceremony. After a suitable and grave discourse, the archbishop, turning to the English, presented William to them, and asked, according to ancient custom, would they have him for their king. A similar question was addressed to the Normans, in their own language, by the Bishop of Contances. Both peoples answered in the affirmative, with loud applause, and their joyous shouts reached the Norman soldiery previously placed round the church. These mistaking, or pretending to mistake, the noise for that of a seditious tumult, rushed and set fire to the neighbouring houses. The people fled in terror and confusion from the church, none remaining but the king and clergy, who, though in great terror, waited the completion of the ceremony. William took the usual oath of the Anglo-Saxon kings, to defend the Church, to put down rapine, and rule according to law. To the excitement and panic produced by the fire was probably due William's immediate departure, after the ceremonial, to his court at Barking, and his postponement of the very important part of receiving the homages.

The effect of the coronation on the popular mind was visible at once in the number of persons of rank and power who voluntarily tendered their submission. Among them were Edwin and Morcar, Edric the Wild, Copsi of Northumbria, and Thurkill of Limes.

A. D. 1067. It was from his Danish rather than his English subjects that William had most cause for fear. The Danes, on hearing of the invasion of William and his victory at Hastings, resented it as an encroachment on their own territory, and at or about the time of his coronation, William received a Danish knight sent by Sweyn, the Danish king, with the insolent message, "Let him render homage and

Threat of Sweyn, King of Denmark.

tribute for his kingdom of England; if he refuses let him expect that Sweyn will forthwith deprive him of both crown and kingdom." Though this danger was a very real one, yet William was well prepared, and did not suffer himself to turn aside from his plan of establishing the supremacy of the law. The city of London obtained a special charter securing their rights. This document, so brief yet so precious, still exists in the Guildhall archives. William's charter to London.

"William the King greets William the Bishop; Godfrey the portreeve, and all the burgesses within London friendly. Ye shall be worthy to enjoy all the laws ye were worth in King Edward's days. Every child shall take to his father's inheritance after his father: no man shall do you wrong." This grant of William has secured to the citizens of London the rights "which they alone, of all the municipalities of Christendom, have retained till the present day."\* But though William insisted on the observance of the law on the part of his own followers as well as on that of the natives, it was a prior necessity to reward those who had assisted him in gaining his new rank and power. In this the king was aided by the fiction of feudal law, which constructively inferred a forfeiture of land from armed resistance to the legal lord. William, the lawful heir to his cousin, the Confessor, was met on the part of the English people with armed resistance, and consequently the whole land of the country was forfeited to the king, and what had been called folc-land was henceforth *terra regis* (king's land). Folc-land becomes terra-regis. The estates of all those who had fought at Senlac were at once confiscated and divided between the followers of the victor. Fitzosbern was created Earl of Hereford, and received for his share the Isle of Wight and the castle of Winchester; Walter Giffard became Earl of Buckingham; and Roger Montgomery was made Earl of Shrewsbury, and received the city of Chichester and the castle of Arundel. There were others created Earls of Cornwall, of Chester, of Norwich, and of Holderness.

Having thus secured his government, and distributed the spoils of conquest among his more powerful retainers, William became desirous of returning to Normandy. He entrusted the government, in his absence, to his brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitzosbern, one of the most powerful of his earls, assisted by other proved William returns to Normandy. Odo and Fitzosbern charged with government in his absence.

\* Sir F. Palgrave.

and trusty nobles. The more influential and so more dangerous of the English he took with him to Normandy, where their fair complexions, long hair, their jewels, and rich dresses excited surprise and admiration.

William was received by his countrymen with the liveliest demonstrations of pride and joy. After a protracted stay of nine months, he was recalled to England by a dangerous rebellion which the rapacity of his followers had, during his absence, provoked. Leaving Normandy to the care of his wife, Matilda, and his eldest son, Robert, he set sail and reached London in the Christmas of 1067. The outbreak seems to have greatly irritated him against the English; he refused to Edwin the hand of his daughter which he had promised, and so drove that powerful earl and his brother Morcar to the side of the rebels. Aid was promised by the Welsh, the Scots, and the Danes, but the vigour and celerity of William's movements disconcerted the plans of his enemies. He followed them from place to place, and was everywhere victorious. To secure his successes he built and garrisoned castles at Exeter, Nottingham, Lincoln, Warwick, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and York. The city of Exeter, which had refused to admit a Norman garrison or to give oaths of fealty, held out against his forces for eighteen days, and even then submitted only on the promise that their lives, property, and privileges should be secure. The insurgents of Cornwall also submitted, and the king, after having erected a fortress in Exeter, returned to Winchester, where he was joined by his wife, Matilda, who had not before visited England. She was crowned in the ensuing Whitsuntide by Archbishop Aldred. Meantime, the discontent of Edwin and Morcar broke out into hostilities, and the spirit of revolt spread from Mercia to the Scottish border. It was, however, checked at the outset by the activity of William. Edwin and Morcar tendered their submission, which was received with a promise of pardon, a promise never intended to be kept. Archil of Northumbria and the Bishop of Durham met the king on his march and offered their homage; and Malcolm of Scotland, finding the insurrection had been quelled, sent deputies to promise faithful service to the English king. During this expedition the king fortified the castles of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Warwick, Nottingham, York, and Lincoln.

A. D. 1068.

Siege of  
Exeter.

Coronation  
of Queen Ma-  
tilda.

In the same year the sons of Harold, with an Irish force

granted by their protector, King Dermot of Leinster, invaded the south-western counties, ravaged Cornwall and Somerset, after which they returned in safety to Ireland. An Irish force lands in Somerset.

The spirit of hatred to the Normans still burned fiercely among the Northumbrians. William had conferred a portion of the territory of Cospatric, a powerful Northumbrian noble, on one Robert de Cumin, or Comyn. The Bishop of Durham warned the Norman of the danger of attempting to take possession. De Cumin scorned his counsel, and at the head of 700 horsemen entered the town of Durham, which he gave up to the pillage and licence of his soldiery. At daybreak on the following day a force of Northumbrians surrounded the houses of the strangers and massacred them almost to a man; only two of the whole body escaped. Rebellion in the North. A. D. 1069. The news of this success powerfully stirred the English, and the result was another and more formidable attempt to shake off the Norman yoke. The citizens of York attacked the Norman garrison and slew the governor and many of his men. Edgar Atheling, at the head of a band of English exiles, and Cospatric, with a strong force of his Northumbrians, joined the insurgents. The king, summoned in haste, marched to York, and the insurgents were compelled to raise the siege.

Having erected a second castle, of which he gave the command to Fitzosbern, William returned to Winchester. The arrival of a Danish fleet at the mouth of the Humber once more revived the hopes of the English. They were at once joined by Edgar, Cospatric, Waltheof, Archil, and other leaders. The garrison of York had ventured to engage the confederates on the open, but were defeated with a loss of 3,000 men.

When William heard of this disaster it is said he uttered an oath that he would not leave one Northumbrian alive. Collecting a large force of Normans and foreign mercenaries he marched rapidly to meet his enemies. As he approached, the confederates dispersed; the Danes retired to their ships, Cospatric retired behind the Tyne, Waltheof alone bravely remained to defend York. But while William marched to the north to suppress one insurrection others burst out behind him; the Cornishmen laid siege to Exeter, Edric the Wild, or the Forester, with the men of Chester and a body of Welsh, took the town and attacked the castle of Shrewsbury. William vows vengeance against the Northumbrians. A. D. 1069.

On William's arrival at York he ordered an attack, and

in spite of Waltheof's gallant resistance the place was carried by assault. The king kept Christmas in the northern capital, for he was resolved to execute his sworn vengeance against the Northumbrians. That vengeance was little short of their extirpation. The Norman army was dispersed in small bodies through the country, with directions to spare neither man nor beast, but to destroy houses, crops, and instruments of husbandry, or whatever might help to support human life. Murder, plunder, and devastation, reigned supreme till the territory between Durham and York was one scene of waste and desolation. The inhabitants who escaped the swords of the soldiery perished of cold and hunger in the woods. It is estimated that one hundred thousand victims, men, women, and children, perished on this occasion; while such was the ruin and destruction everywhere wrought, that its traces were clearly discernible a hundred years later.

Capture of York, A. D. 1066.

William devastates Northumbria.

A. D. 1070.

Submission of English chiefs.

A. D. 1070.

Malcolm invades and ravages Northumbria.

The English chiefs, appalled by this terrible spectacle, hastened to tender their submission. Edgar Atheling, the Bishop of Durham, and Cospatric were pardoned and taken into favour; Waltheof, whose valour had excited the king's admiration, not only obtained pardon and the restoration of his earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon, but the king bestowed on him the hand of his niece, Judith. In the west Edric the Wild was pardoned and taken into favour.

These submissions of his former allies seem to have incensed Malcolm of Scotland to such an extent that he made a sanguinary raid into the north of Yorkshire, plundering and burning wherever he went, and carrying off whatever the Normans had spared. The Scottish army drove before it all the able-bodied of both sexes, and so great was the number that it is said they supplied slaves to all the farms in the south of Scotland. Malcolm, on his return, married Margaret, one of the sisters of Edgar Atheling.

William was now complete master of England, and had time to attend to civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The Pope had, at the king's request, sent over commission to inquire into and regulate the affairs of the Church in England. The result was the deposition of the Saxon bishops and abbots, and their replacement by Norman and other foreign ecclesiastics. One exception was made in favour of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. Stigand was deprived of the see of Canterbury, which was bestowed on Lanfranc, a

native of Pavia, and a renowned teacher of that day. On the whole, the changes in the hierarchy were for the better; all those promoted to high church dignities by William were distinguished for their piety and ability.

Edwin and Morcar, the two sons of Earl Leofric, were, from the death of Harold, the most powerful nobles among the Saxons. Though William had granted them forgiveness and taken them into favour, he now deemed their influence too great, and determined to seize their persons. In this he failed, but after a time the concealment of Edwin having been betrayed by three of his vassals, that earl with twenty of his followers fell against his pursuers.

Death of Edwin, 1071.

Morcar fled to Hereward, who, from amid the fens and morasses of Cambridgeshire waged a desultory war with the Normans in the surrounding country. He had erected a fortress on the Island of Ely, where, surrounded by an expanse of water on all sides he defied pursuit. The arrival of Morcar and some exiles from Scotland seemed to William so serious that he himself set out to reduce this last champion of Saxon independence. A causeway was made across the marshes, a work which, though often interrupted by Hereward steadily progressed till the capture of the island was effected. Hereward himself escaped, the rest were taken and suffered various punishments; Morcar and the Bishop of Durham were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Hereward's valour had won the admiration of the king, who not only pardoned him, but secured to him his patrimonial possessions.

Revolt in the Fen Country under Hereward Capture of his stronghold, A. D. 1071.

William next invaded Scotland and penetrated as far as the Tay, but Malcolm having done homage and given hostages was permitted to hold his crown as William's vassal.

Malcolm does homage to William, A. D. 1072.

All hopes of resistance had now died out among the Saxon English, and Edgar Atheling, crossing over to Normandy, made peace with William, who received him very kindly, and settled a handsome income upon him.

The submission of Malcolm and the death or imprisonment of all the natives who could become dangerous to his power, enabled William to return once more to Normandy, whither a revolt of the people of Maine also called him. William de Warrenne and Richard de Benefacta were regents in his absence. William, on entering Maine, laid waste the country; Fulk of Anjou, whom the people had called to their assistance, retiring before him. Le Mans

Revolt of Maine.

A. D. 1073.

Treaty of  
Blanchelande.  
A. D. 1073.

soon after submitted, and a treaty with Fulk confirmed the authority of William over Maine. But, as in his former visit to his native country, so in this he was disturbed by news of plots and revolts in England. This time it was not the natives but the most favoured and the most powerful of his own barons. Roger, the son of William's great friend, William Fitzosbern, had, against the king's wish, given his sister Emma to Ralph de Guader, Earl of East Anglia.

Plot of Roger  
Fitzosbern, Ralph  
de Guader  
and Waltheof,  
A. D. 1074.

To anticipate William's anger they entered into a plot for his dethronement, and, with the view of winning the aid and countenance of the natives, took Waltheof, now Earl of Northumbria, into their counsels. Waltheof is said to have opposed the plot, but the vigilance of Bishops Odo and Mowbray disconcerted the plans of the conspirators. Ralph de Guader was attacked near Cambridge and defeated with great loss. He himself thereupon fled to Denmark, but his wife Ida defended the castle of Norwich so valiantly that she and her followers obtained very favourable terms from the royalists. She sailed to Brittany, where she was soon after joined by her husband,

Punishment  
of the conspirators,

Roger Fitzosbern forfeited all his lands and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

Execution of  
Waltheof, A. D.  
1076.

Waltheof's vast possessions had roused the cupidity of some of William's still unsatisfied followers, but his bitterest enemy was his own wife, Judith, who not only accused him of treason to her uncle the king, but appeared openly against him at his trial. Waltheof was found guilty and after an imprisonment of twelve months was beheaded. He was the last powerful noble of Anglo-Saxon race.

A. D. 1076,

Threatened  
invasion of  
Canute, A. D.  
1086.

Canute, son of Sweyn, King of Denmark, about this time made preparations for the invasion of England. Ships and men were promised by his brother, Olave of Norway, and his father-in-law, Robert, Earl of Flanders. William, knowing the sullen discontent of his own subjects, invited adventurers from all parts of Europe to his standard, but the danger disappeared of itself; contrary winds, want of provisions, and in the end a mutiny fomented, some say by the gold of William, broke up and dispersed the formidable armament of Canute.

Robert leaves  
his father's  
Court.

The king's next trouble came from his own family. Prince Robert, his eldest son, on coming of age demanded from his father the Duchy of Normandy, which had long been promised to him, but received an absolute refusal. A practical joke of his brothers, William and Henry:

still further embittered the temper of Robert, who, accordingly, left his father's Court, determined to win his rights with the sword. He was encouraged in this resolve by a number of Norman nobles; but he had little success. An attempt on Rouen Castle failed, and he was soon after driven out of Normandy. He spent some five years in the neighbouring territories, but finally took up his residence in the Castle of Gerberoi, granted to him by the King of France. Here he was besieged by his father, with whom, on one occasion, he became engaged in single combat. William was unhorsed, and Robert discovering his father, fell on his knees and implored forgiveness. A reconciliation was soon after effected, and Robert, accompanying his father to England, led an army against Malcolm of Scotland, who, in the king's absence, had made an irruption into the northern counties.

A. D. 1086.

Encounter between father and son, before Castle of Gerberoi.

In his later years William became very corpulent, a circumstance to which the French king had referred by a silly and coarse jest. William, on hearing it, flew into a rage and resolved to punish Philip's insolence by carrying fire and sword into his kingdom. Accordingly, he soon after entered the French territory; and having taken the town of Mantes by surprise, ordered it to be burned. Here his horse, treading on some hot ashes, flung the king against the iron pommel of his saddle, and so bruised him that the result was a fever, which, in a few weeks, proved mortal. He died at Rouen, whither he had been borne after the retreat from Mantes.

A. D. 1087.

Philip's jest and its consequences.

William receives his death-wound.

Before his death he bequeathed, in the presence of the assembled prelates and barons, Normandy to Robert, and 5,000lbs. of silver to Henry. He would leave the succession to England to be disposed of by Providence, though he expressed a desire that it might fall to William. He was next urged to liberate the many prisoners whom he still kept in confinement. He agreed in the case of all but his brother Odo, but after a time he was prevailed on to assent to his liberation also.

Disposal of his dominions before his death.

When the king had drawn his last breath, the attendant barons, with shameful selfishness, dispersed each to secure his own possessions. The servants pillaged the palace, and the royal corpse lay for three days on the ground, deserted and uncared for. At length, a gentleman named Herluin, "for the honour of God and the Norman name," undertook, at his own expense, to have the remains

Burial of the King.



removed to Caen. There, while the funeral service was proceeding, and when those who had received any injustice from the deceased king were exhorted to forgive him, a voice from the crowd exclaimed: "He whom you have praised was a robber. The land on which you stand is mine. By violence he took it from my father, and, in the name of God, I forbid you to bury him in it." The claimant, one FitzArthur, withdrew his protest on payment of fifty shillings for the grave, and a promise of full payment for the rest of the estate. After this the service proceeded, and the remains were deposited in the church of St. Stephen, which he himself had founded.

**William's character.**

The character of William is fully set forth in the Saxon Chronicle: "This King William that we speak of was a very wise man and very rich, more splendid and powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to the good men who loved God, and beyond measure severe to men who gainsayed his will." The writer goes on to speak of his dignity and state; of his sternness and impatience of opposition; of the rigid observance of the law he had enforced; of his avarice; of the money he took from his subjects, "by right and by unright;" of his severe game laws; of his love for the tall deer, "as if he were their father;" of the sternness which compelled men to follow his will, "if they would live, or have land or possession, or even peace." In personal appearance William was of the middle height, and in later years very corpulent. His expression was at all times rather fierce, but in anger it was terrible. His strength was such that he could on horseback bend a bow which no other man could bend on foot.

**His family.**

William had married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V., Count of Flanders. By her he had four sons—Robert, Richard, of whom nothing is known; William, and Henry; and six daughters—Agatha, betrothed to Alphonso of Galicia; Adelaide, a nun; Constance, married to Alan Fergaint, Count of Brittany; Adela, married to Stephen, Count of Blois; Cecilia, Abbess of Caen; and Gundrada, married to William de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey.

**General results of the Conquest.**

*Results of the Conquest.*—In spite of the cruelty, plunder, and suffering that accompanied and followed it, the Conquest was, on the whole, a blessing to England. Among its beneficial results were—(1), the establishment of a closer relations with the Continent; (2), the consolidation once and for ever of the country into a homogeneous and undivided nation; (3), the very oppressions of their new

masters acted as a stimulus to waken and call forth the opposing energies of the natives, while the steadiness and uniformity of the new yoke was a salutary though painful discipline in preparing the people for submission to law ; (4), a fourth advantage was in the introduction of a new element of population, gifted like the Normans, not only with rare constructive and organising powers, but also teeming with a superabundance of youthful energy and activity. The social superiority of the new race gave a vantage ground for the full play of their influence in quickening and assimilating the comparatively inert and torpid mass of the subject people.

The popular idea of the amount of change wrought immediately by the Conquest is an exaggerated one. William professed to rule as the legitimate elected successor of his cousin Edward, and as such made no change in the existing law, but what the altered circumstances rendered necessary, or what its administration by foreign functionaries indirectly entailed. So, too, the greater part of the national customs and institutions remained unchanged : the liability of freemen to serve in the fyrd survived till, in the reigns of his successors, it became gradually, and for convenience, merged in the obligation of military or knight service. The Witenagemot, though changed as to its constituent members, remained unchanged in form and procedure, and even its Saxon name survived.

Amount of change.

Saxon law unchanged in substance : obligation to serve in the fyrd continues.

No change in the form and procedure of the Witenagemot.

*Tenure of Land, or Knight Service.*—Though William made no express alteration in the tenure of land, the effect of his conquest was to quicken the tendency already existing towards feudal tenures. By the legal fiction which constructively implied forfeiture as the penalty of the nation's armed opposition to its legitimate king, William became the owner of all the land of the country, and from him, mediately or immediately, every freeman held his estate. This constructive forfeiture is the origin of the legal doctrine, that all land is held as a grant from the Crown.

The Conqueror made no direct change as to military service ; the old liability of landowners to furnish one fully equipped soldier for every five hides of land still continued. There is no mention of knight service in Domesday, and the lands in it are divided not into knights' fees, but into hides. In the course of time, however, and for purposes of convenience, the great nobles relieved themselves from this general obligation by creating a certain number of knights' fees, the possessors of which were to render the military service due from the whole estate. William is said to have created 60,000 knights' fees, but the number is regarded as a gross exaggeration. A knight's fee varied as to area or acreage, but was uniform in value, being equivalent to the annual sum of twenty pounds.

Creation of knights' fees

The effect of the Conquest in quickening the change to feudal tenure arose out of the circumstances of the case. At the successive confiscations the land was either redeemed by the original owners or granted to the king's Norman followers. In the first case, the charter restoring the lands would naturally be regarded as conferring a feudal title ; while, in the second case, the grant from a Norman king to his Norman followers would naturally be according to the tenure with which both were familiar in Normandy, that is the feudal ; so that without express enactment, and by the silent course

of things, change of tenure accompanying change of owners, the Anglo-Saxon tenures rapidly gave place to the feudal.

*The Conquest in Relation to Feudalism.*—It has been supposed that the introduction of feudalism dates from the Assembly of Salisbury, where the landowners of the kingdom, "whose vassals soever they were," submitted to William, became his men, and swore oaths of allegiance that they would be faithful to him against all others. This, however, is not the fact. The oath is distinctly anti-feudal in its object: "It is a measure of precaution taken against the disintegrating power of feudalism, providing a direct tie between the sovereign and all freeholders, which no inferior relation existing between them and the mesne lords would justify them in breaking."\* In the absence of such a check the vassal, owing obedience only to his immediate lord, might follow him against all his enemies, even against the king himself. This limitation of the lord's right to his vassal's obedience is a marked distinction between the feudalism as it was on the Continent, and as it existed in England after the Conquest.

Primary  
elements  
of  
Feudalism.

The elements of feudalism were the *beneficium* and *commendation*. The *beneficium* was either a grant of land from a king or lord, on the condition of a general promise of fidelity, or land surrendered to the Church, or some powerful noble, to be received back on condition of rent or service. The motive to such surrender was the protection which the Church or the new lord, by virtue of the beneficiary relation, was bound to afford. Commendation was the act by which an inferior placed himself under the personal care of a lord, but without surrendering his land, or in any way altering his title thereto. From the union of commendation with the beneficiary relation arose the full feudal tie. Commendation had probably a Celtic source; the *beneficium* was partly of Roman, partly of German origin. At a more advanced stage of feudal development the lord, besides the rights arising from homage and oaths of fealty accompanying commendation, possessed the rights of exclusive judicature within his fief; his vassals owed him not only service but suit of court. Besides the oath of fealty and homage, the principal feudal burdens or incidents were military service, relief, aids, suit of court, wardship, and marriage:

Feudal incidents.

Military  
service.

Relief.

*Military Service* was the obligation of the tenant or vassal to attend his lord in the wars, if required, for forty days in each year.

*Relief* was a sum paid by the heir of a deceased tenant before entering into possession of his fee. It corresponded to the heriot of the Saxons.† We have seen that Canute varied the amount of the heriot

\* Stubbs's "Constitutional History of England," vol. i., p. 367.

† Professor Stubbs points out a distinction between the heriot and the relief: "The change of the heriot to the relief implies a suspension of ownership and carries with it the custom of livery of seisin. The heriot was the payment of a debt from the dead man to his lord; his son succeeded him by allodial right. The relief was paid by the heir before he could obtain his father's lands; between the death of the father and livery seisin to the son, the right of the overlord had

according to the ranks of the tenant; the Conqueror diminished that amount and omitted the demand for money.

*Aids* were pecuniary payments to the lord on certain specified occasions, four in number, viz., 1, When he paid the relief on his own fee; 2, when he made his eldest son a knight; 3, when he bestowed his eldest daughter in marriage; and 4, when he himself became a captive in the hands of his enemies. The first does not apply to tenants of the Crown, as the king paid no relief; the remaining three, however, were common to them with the tenants of meane lords, that is, those who while lords to their own tenants were themselves tenants to the king or some higher lord.

*Aids.*

Where jurisdiction was attached to a fief, the lord had a right to the attendance of his tenants at his court. This incident was termed suit of court. The military tenants of the Crown were bound to attend the king's court at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, or whenever else they were summoned.

*Wardship* was the right of the lord to the guardianship of the person of the heir while a minor, and of appropriating the profits of his estate till he came of age. The only compensation to the heir was that no relief was required of him on coming into possession.

*Wardship.*

*Marriage* was another grievous burden, and which, like wardship, was absent from most feudal constitutions. It was the right of the lord to dispose in marriage of the heiress of his deceased tenant. The ground of the claim was that, as the heiress could not perform the military and other feudal services to the lord, the latter had the right to see that the husband whom she chose should be one who could render them for her. Marriage, accordingly, without her lord's consent, entailed a heavy fine, and, in fact, practically the right was little else than that of selling the heiress to the highest bidder.

*Marriage.*

When there was an entire failure of heirs, the land was said to escheat to the lord, that is, it came once more into his possession.

*Escheat.*

*Forfeiture* was the reversion of a fee to the lord on account of the breach by the tenant of some condition of the tenure.

*Forfeiture.*

The ceremony of conveying the legal ownership of a fief was termed investiture. The tenant was either actually placed in possession or he received possession by symbol, such as a piece of earth, a branch of a tree, &c.

*Investiture.*

*Domesday.*—This was a grand survey or inquest of the kingdom, drawn up with the object of affording clear data for the administration of justice and the collection of the king's revenue. The information it contains was obtained from juries empanelled by royal commissioners in the various counties. It included the amount and nature of land in each, its kind, whether arable, wood, or pasture, the tenants *in capite*, under tenants, freeholders, and serfs upon it, the value both at the time and at the death of King Edward, the domestic animals, mines, fisheries, and whatever could add to its value as an accurate register of the population and property of the kingdom. The origin of the name has been referred to "*Domus Dei*,"

*Domesday.*

*Its nature.*

*Origin of the name.*

entered, the ownership was to a certain extent resumed, and the succession of the heir took somewhat of the character of a new grant."—*'Const. Hist. of England,'* vol. i., p. 261.

the place where it was preserved in Winchester ; to the circumstance that it was drawn up from information procured on dome's or doom's day, that is, the local court day ; and lastly, to its resemblance in the eyes of the Saxons, by irrevocably fixing their deprivation and ruin to the great Book of Doom. The northern counties, Northumberland, Lancaster, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, are not included in the survey ; so, too, the cities of London, Bristol, Winchester, Devizes, and Marlborough, do not appear, possibly because the required information in their case was otherwise obtainable. The number of persons recorded in Domesday is 283,000, which, allowing for omissions, gives about 300,000 heads of families, and a population between one and a half and two millions. Besides 1,500 *tenants in capite*, there were about 8,000 mesne lords and 250,000 other tenants. The serfs amounted to 25,000. Of the whole land of the country the baronage held about 50, the Church 30, and the Crown 20 per cent.

Omissions.

Population of England at the Conquest.

*The King's Revenue.*—Besides (1) the demesne lands of the crown there were (2), the sums obtained from the military tenants in the way of reliefs, aids, wardships, marriages of heiresses ; (3), escheats and forfeitures ; (4), fines and pecuniary penalties ; (5), the tolls at bridges, fairs, and harbours ; and (6), the revived tax at Danegeld, which was laid at six shillings the hide of land, that is, three times its amount when abolished by the Confessor. The income of William is set down at £1,061 10s. 1½d. per day ; but this being incredible, it has been thought that for day we should read week, a correction that would give the sum of £55,000, an amount which, compared with the periods before and after, seems highly probable ; the Confessor's income was £40,000 ; that of Henry I. about £66,000.

Severance of Spiritual and Secular Courts

*Creation of Spiritual Courts.*—The separation of spiritual and secular courts was one of the most important innovations of the reign of William. Previous to his time spiritual causes which, in the other Christian countries, were confined to ecclesiastical courts, in England had been heard in the court of the hundred. William assimilated the English usage to that of the rest of Christendom, and thenceforward the bishops possessing their own tribunals ceased to preside in the hundred-courts, which from this time, and in great measure for this reason, gradually sank in dignity and importance till they disappeared altogether.

Presentment of Englishry.

*Presentment of Englishry.*—To prevent race-hatred breaking out in private assassination, William revived a measure of Canute's. If the slain turned out to be a Norman, the lord of the manor or the inhabitants of the hundred in which the corpse was found, were bound to present the assassin within eight days, otherwise to pay a fine of forty-six marks to the king. This penalty was called "murder," a word which afterwards came to signify not the penalty but the crime itself.

Forest Laws.

*Forest Laws.*—The Conqueror revived the cruel forest laws of Canute.\* Not satisfied with the possession of sixty-eight parks and

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\* Mr. Freeman thinks the Forest Laws of Canute are a Norman compilation of later date.

chases in various parts of the kingdom, he afforested a large tract of some 17,000 acres in Hampshire, destroying the villages and churches, and expelling the wretched people. This tract bears to this day the name of the New Forest. From the prominence of the forest laws in the complaints of the time they must have been one of the most keenly felt of the popular grievances. The following stanza of an old glee-song points to William's love of the tall game and its effects :—

The New  
Forest.

“ For slaying hart or hind,  
Doth many a man go blind ;  
He loved the dappled deer,  
As he their father were.”

William, who had abolished the penalty of death, introduced the still more cruel one of mutilation, on the ground, it is said, that it admitted of being proportioned to the heinousness of the offence.

*The Curfew.*—This regulation, by which all fires and lights were to be put out (*couvre-feu*) at eight o'clock, was not a despotic and oppressive precaution as supposed, but a common custom in many countries of Europe.

*Tenants in capite.*—Those tenants who held directly of the king were called tenants in *capite*. Of these about 1,500 appear in Domesday. Though the majority of these tenants in *capite* held but one manor, a few of the most powerful possessed vast numbers scattered through the several counties. The king himself possessed 1,432 manors in various parts of the kingdom ; his brother, Bishop Odo, had 200 manors in Kent alone, and 250 more scattered through sixteen different counties. The Bishop of Contances left to his nephew 280 manors. Robert of Mortain possessed 973 manors, situated in nineteen different counties ; while Hugh of Avranches had possessions in twenty-one counties.

The following extract, as to the character of the Conquest, is taken from Sir F. Palgrave's "History of Normandy and England :"—

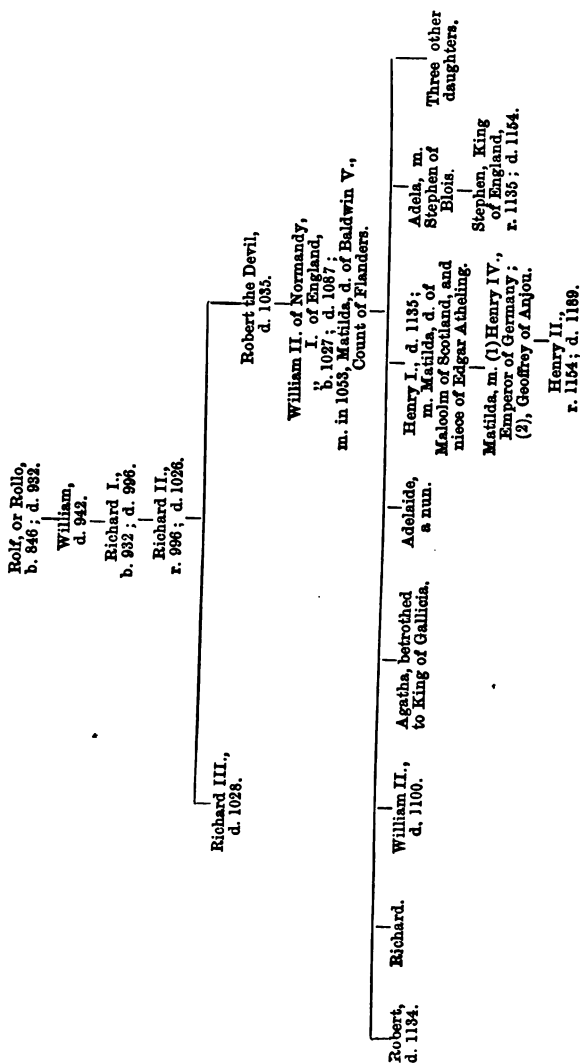
“ England suffered most acutely from the Norman Conquest ; but, comparing as far as we can imperfectly know and tell the similar or analogous punishments of nations, never was so crushing a subjection accompanied by less oppression and wrong. Bitter oppression, cruel wrong ; yet oppression which, according to the world's opinion, is inevitable ; wrong, which the statesman never fails to justify. In proportion as the grades of society descended, so did the hardships diminish ; there was no permanent evil inflicted on the great masses of society. The shattered and decayed elements of old English policy were preserved, and the means provided for reuniting them in a more efficient organisation. London retained all her Anglo-Saxon integrity. London stone was not moved. All the sokes preserved their franchises. Colchester townsmen met in Colchester Moot-hall. Lincoln's lawmen kept their statutes. The Burghs of Mercia held their 'morning speech,' even as their kinsmen in the red Westphalian land. No Englishman who patiently had continued in scot and lot became an alien in his own country,

no peasant was expelled from his cot,' no churl from his patrimonial field. So far as the Norman administration reached, he obtained greater protection for the fruits of his labour, more assurance in the quiet and comfort of house and home than he had enjoyed under the Confessor. His rent could not be raised, his service could not be increased. Above all, no 'penal laws,' no persecution of faith, no legalized degradation, no spite against nationality, no proscription of dress or language, no useless insult, no labour of hatred, to render contempt everlasting, no 'Glorious memory,' no 'Boyne Water,' no 'Croppies lie down.'

#### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

- "1066.—Battle of Senlac, or Hastings. Submission of Kent, and later of London. Coronation at Westminster. All land forfeited, and all folk-land becomes king's-land (*terra reges*).
- 1067.—William returns to Normandy, taking with him chief English nobles. Administration of Odo and Fitzosbern. Rebellion in Kent, Eustace of Bologne unsuccessfully attacks Dover.
- 1068.—Siege and surrender of Exeter. Revolt and First Conquest of Northumbria.
- 1069.—Final Conquest and Devastation of Northumbria.
- 1070.—Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. Revolt in the Fen Country, under Hereward. Malcolm ravages North of England. Edgar Atheling and his sisters find asylum at Scotch Court.
- 1073.—Revolt of Maine.
- 1075.—Revolt of the three Earls—Roger of Hereford, Ralph of Norfolk, and Wultheof. Their trial and punishment.
- 1077.—Robert quarrels with his father.
- 1080.—They meet in single combat before Castle of Gerberoi.
- 1082.—Arrest and imprisonment of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux.
- 1083.—Canute of Denmark threatens England.
- 1085.—The Domesday Survey ordered.
- 1086.—Council of Salisbury, where the principal landowners take oath of homage to king.
- 1087.—William burns Mantes, and receives his death-wound.

THE CONQUEROR'S DESCENT FROM ROLLO.





## WILLIAM II.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	Kings of Scotland.	King of France.	King of Spain.	Popes.
Henry IV.	Malcolm III., ... d. 1093. Donald Bane, deposed 1094. Duncan, ... d. 1094. Donald Bane, restored, d. 1097. Edgar.	Philip I.	Alph. VI.	Urban II., d. 1099. Pascal II.

William's  
arrival and  
Coronation.  
A. D. 1066.

The Conqueror, we have seen, did not feel justified in disposing of the English Crown, to which he had no other right than that of the sword; but he ardently wished that it might fall to his son William, surnamed Rufus, or the Red. He accordingly gave him a letter to Lanfranc, requesting the primate's aid for his favourite son, and whom Lanfranc himself had educated and knighted. Rufus set out for England before his father's death, and having presented himself to the archbishop, and given a promise to rule with justice and mercy, and to defend the rights of the Church, the Primate had him soon after crowned at Winchester.

The prospective severance of the newly-conquered kingdom from the hereditary duchy was deemed by many Normans prejudicial to their interests; their discontent was encouraged by Bishop Odo, who, now restored to his earldom of Kent, but mortified at the little influence he possessed in the king's counsels, placed himself at the head of a rebellious confederacy of barons, for the purpose of placing Robert on the throne.

William, seeing himself abandoned by the greater part of the Normans, addressed himself to the Saxon population, to whom he promised repeal of unjust laws, remission of oppressive taxes, and other favours, in return for their loyal assistance.

An army of 30,000 men soon assembled, under the royal banner, and laid siege to Odo's castle of Rochester, which, with that of Pevensey, was soon after surrendered to the king, on condition that Odo should be allowed to retire unharmed to Normandy. The other rebels were everywhere defeated, and the struggle—the last between Saxon and Norman—rather strengthened than weakened William's position on the throne. But the promises with

Rebellion of  
barons, headed by Odo,  
A. D. 1068.

which he won the support of his English subjects were forgotten as soon as that support was no longer needed.

In the year following this rebellion Lanfranc died, and his death removed the only counsellor who could exercise any influence on the king's headstrong will, or put any check on his tyranny or rapacity; for it must be admitted, that while Lanfranc lived, William observed the promise exacted by his father, that in all his affairs he would ask and follow the counsels of the Primate.

Death of  
Lanfranc,  
A. D. 1090.

To Lanfranc succeeded in the king's confidence a man, in every way his opposite, Ralph Flambard (the Fire-brand), an obscure clergyman, whose name is covered with reproaches by the chroniclers of the time. By his flattery, his wit, but especially the fertility of his resources in raising money, he rose from an humble position in the royal household to be the king's treasurer and chief justiciary. Among the fiscal devices which procured him the admiration of William and the hate of the nation were the imposition of fines for new offences, the remission of capital sentences on payment of certain sums, the creation of additional penalties for hunting, but chiefly the increase in the land-tax by a new survey, which made area and not productiveness the basis of valuation.

Ralph Flam-  
bard.

In Normandy, which, by the will of the Conqueror, fell to Robert's share, there reigned at this time complete anarchy. The Duke, embarrassed by his prodigality, had sold to his brother Henry, the Colentin, nearly a third of his duchy, for the sum of £3,000, and afterwards had that prince arrested and imprisoned. William seized the occasion of Robert's weakness to seduce from their allegiance several of his barons, and introduced garrisons of his own into their castles. By bribing Conan, the principal citizen of Rouen, the capital of Normandy was on the point of falling into his hands; but, just as the gates were about to be thrown open to the force sent by William to take possession, Robert and Henry, at the head of a number of knights, arrived from the opposite direction, and with the aid of the loyal townsmen defeated the enemy. The unfortunate Conan who was captured met a cruel fate. Prince Henry led him to the top of a tower whence he bade him, in derision, admire the surrounding scenery, all which he had hoped to gain by his treachery. Then crying out that traitors deserved no mercy, seized his unhappy prisoner by the waist, and flung him through the open window

Anarchy in  
Normandy,  
A. D. 1090.

William at-  
tempts to  
seize Rouen.

Fate of  
Conan.

to the depths below. The corpse was afterwards tied to a horse's tail and dragged through the streets of the city. Robert soon after placed himself under the protection of Philip I., the French King, by whose mediation a peace was concluded between him and William at Caen. Of this convention, which was witnessed by twenty-four barons, twelve for each brother, the chief article was that, on the death of either without legitimate issue, the survivor should inherit all his territories.

Treaty of  
Caen, A. D.  
1066.

William and  
Robert make  
war on Henry

This arrangement being injurious to the interests of Henry he opposed it, but having few supporters, he retired to the fortress of Mount Saint Michael; where he was besieged by his two brothers. A petty circumstance of this siege illustrates the different characters of William and Robert. The besieged suffered much from want of water, on learning which Robert directed his soldiers not to be too strict in stopping the supply of that element, on which William contemptuously upbraided him for his soft-heartedness and unfitness to conduct a war. Robert thereupon indignantly exclaimed: "What! shall we allow our brother to die of thirst? and where shall we find another if we lose him?" Henry soon after surrendered the fortress on condition of being permitted to depart in safety.

William  
marches  
against Scot-  
land, A. D.  
1066.

Battle  
avoided.

Malcolm vi-  
sits William's  
court at  
Gloucester,  
A. D. 1068.

Malcolm's  
last invasion  
of England.  
His death at  
Alnwick, A. D.  
1069.

William was soon after recalled to England by an invasion of Malcolm of Scotland. Accompanied by his brother he marched at the head of a considerable army as far as the Frith of Forth, but the King of Scots passed the river and met them in Lothian. No battle, however, ensued, Robert and Edgar Atheling became mediators, and Malcolm did homage for Lothian\* only, as Scotch writers contend, for his whole kingdom as English writers maintain. A new quarrel soon after broke out between these monarchs; Malcolm, who on the summons or invitation of William, had come to Gloucester, returned home highly incensed at his reception and the claims raised by the King of England. Another invasion of the northern counties—the fifth and last—followed. Having marched as far as Alnwick he was there slain with his eldest son, Edward, by an ambush or sudden onset of Robert Mowbray and his followers. His queen, Margaret, died four days after the loss of her husband and son.

The state of incessant though petty warfare which ex-

\* Lothian was at this time regarded as part of England.

isted between the Norman lords of the Welsh borders and the Ancient Britons in their neighbourhood culminated, in the year 1094, in a general uprising of the whole Welsh people. The island of Anglesea was taken, and the counties of Hereford, Shropshire, and Cheshire, ravaged with fire and sword. In the following year Montgomery Castle was captured, and the garrison mercilessly put to the sword.

Rising in  
Wales, A. D.  
1094.

William himself made two campaigns in Wales, but in the first, after great loss of men and horses, he was compelled to retreat; while in the second, he suffered two defeats from a small band of his despised enemy. He accordingly resolved to pursue his father's policy of hemming in the country with strong castles, whose possessors, by predatory excursions, should gradually reduce it.

William  
leads an army  
into Wales,  
A. D. 1096.

It was in this reign that the great movement of the Crusades began. In the year 636, Omar, Caliph of Bagdad, obtained possession of Jerusalem. By the terms of capitulation, the inhabitants were secured in their property and the free exercise of their religion, and foreign Christians visiting the holy places were taken under the Caliph's protection. By Omar and his successors this treaty was faithfully observed, but in 1076, the city passed into the hands of the Turks, and the terms of the capitulation were entirely disregarded. Pilgrims were robbed and insulted; the native Christians were treated as slaves, their priests imprisoned or murdered, and their churches profaned. This was the condition of things when Peter the Hermit, from the diocese of Amiens, made a pilgrimage to the holy places. Shocked by what he had witnessed he communicated to Pope Urban, on his return, a plan for uniting the Christian nations and wresting scenes hallowed by the presence of the Saviour of the world from the polluted grasp of the infidel. He next traversed Italy, France, and portion of Germany, kindling everywhere the most fervid enthusiasm. At the Council of Clermont Urban II., from his throne, in an eloquent and impassioned address, urged the union of all Christians for the great and holy enterprise which the Hermit had preached. The pious excitement of the multitude interrupted the Pontiff's words with the unanimous cry, "It is the will of God."

Peter the  
Hermit visits  
Jerusalem,  
A. D. 1096.

Council of  
Clermont.

Among the first to obey this summons to the holy war was Duke Robert of Normandy: To provide the necessary means he pledged his duchy to his brother William for five

Robert mort-  
gages Nor-  
mandy to  
William, A. D.  
1096.

years in consideration of the sum of 10,000 marks of silver. William gladly accepted the offer, trusting Robert would never return, or that if he did means would easily be found to exclude him from his inheritance. The possession, too, promised a convenient basis for extending his power and acquisitions in France. Accordingly, we find him soon after engaged, on various pretences, in several petty wars with King Philip; the beginning of those later and greater wars which caused so much misery to both countries.

Revolt of  
Robert Mow-  
bray, A. D.  
1066.

The most powerful baron in the north of England, perhaps in the whole country, was Robert Mowbray. He inherited from his uncle, Bishop Geoffrey, the earldom of Northumberland, and two hundred and eighty manors in various parts of England. For some reason or other he was at this time displeased with the king and entered into a conspiracy against his life and crown. Summoned to appear before William for the plunder of some Norwegian vessels, he refused until he received hostages for his security. William raised an army and marched north. The resistance of Robert and his friends was long and stubborn, but at length he fell by stratagem into the hands of his enemies. By them he was led in front of his Castle of Bamborough, which his young wife, Matilda, still continued to defend. To her it was intimated that if the castle were not at once surrendered, her husband's eyes should be put out in her presence. The threat had the desired effect; the castle was surrendered, and Mowbray's eyes were spared; but the remaining thirty years of his life were spent in prison. His confederates suffered various punishments, some death, some mutilation.

Flambard  
attempts to  
secularise  
Church lands.

Among the many devices of Ralph Flambard to fill the royal exchequer, none equalled in boldness or productiveness that by which the profits of vacant bishopricks and abbeys were declared to belong to the Crown during the vacancy. The prelacies and abbacies were, according to Flambard, fiefs held of the king by military service, and when the see or the abbey became vacant, so that the services could not be rendered, they reverted to the king, like other benefices, till he of his own grace thought good to confer them on new abbots and bishops. This subtle feudal logic mightily pleased William, who began by applying it to the metropolitan see of Canterbury. For four years after the death of Lanfranc he kept its temporalities in his own hands, and when advised to nominate a successor to

the late primate, declared none but himself should be Archbishop of Canterbury. A dangerous illness, however, altered his tone and disposed him to repentance. The celebrated Anselm, the pupil of Lanfranc, and like him a native of Italy, and afterwards Abbot of Bec, in Normandy, happening to be then in England, was invited by William to visit him in Gloucester. Anselm's advice and influence produced a great change in the king, who not only gave promise of amendment for the future, but of reparation, as far as possible, for the past. Finding the king in this happy frame of mind, the bishops seized the occasion to induce him to nominate a successor to Lanfranc. The king complied, saying he granted the office to Anselm. This declaration filled all present with joy except Anselm himself, who became seriously alarmed, and is said to have turned pale when he heard it. He was sincerely opposed to the elevation and desirous to end his days in his quiet Abbey of Bec. A loving violence was used to overcome his objections; he was drawn to the bedside of the king and the crosier forced into his hand, after which a *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving.

The King's illness.

Anselm visits him, and is nominated to the see of Canterbury, A. D. 1094.

William's repentance, however, only lasted during his illness. On his recovery he resumed his old habits and vices, and his tone towards the new archbishop underwent a marked change. The breach gradually became wider; to the request of Anselm that the lands of his see should be restored, an evasive answer was returned. On Anselm offering £500 as a customary present on his promotion, the king, who looked for double that sum, refused it, on which Anselm distributed the money to the poor. Many other scenes of a very unpleasant kind occurred. Anselm had, like other Normans, acknowledged Pope Urban, and told the king so before his election; but on soliciting permission to go to Rome to receive the *pallium*, William flew into a rage, and charged him with a breach of allegiance in acknowledging a Pope whom his sovereign did not acknowledge. Anselm, at length worn out by endless persecution, solicited permission to leave the kingdom. The king's hate pursued him to the coast; at Dover he was treated by the king's servants with studied indignity. On his way through France and Germany he was received with great respect, and in some places his progress resembled a triumphal procession.

The King's quarrel with Anselm.

Anselm leaves England, A. D. 1094.

William continued his career of debauchery, rapacity,

Death of the  
King. A. D.  
1154.

and oppression after the departure of Anselm, till a sudden death arrested his course. Having gone to hunt in the New Forest, his attendants gradually dispersed in quest of game, and on their return in the evening they found the king's body with a broken arrow transpiercing the breast. The story believed at the time was that an arrow from the bow of Sir Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, glancing from a tree, struck the king in its rebound. Sir Walter's departure to Palestine soon after was supposed to corroborate this story, but he himself long after, when he had nothing to fear, deposed on oath that on the day in question he had never seen the king. William was the third of his race who perished in this forest, for it had proved fatal to his elder brother, Richard, as well as to his nephew, Duke Robert's son, also a Richard.

His cha-  
racter.

The character of William was a compound of vices. He was arrogant to his nobles and prelates, a merciless oppressor of his people, faithless in his promises, a scoffer at religion, and in his private morals shamelessly licentious. He had some wit, was not without intellect, and possessed what for worldly success is perhaps better than pure intellect—consistency in pursuit of his objects. In person he was short and corpulent, with flaxen hair and a ruddy complexion, to which he owed his surname of Rufus. He was never married.

A wall round the Tower, a bridge over the Thames, and Westminster Hall, point to the architectural activity which, not only in the capital but throughout the country, was a prominent feature of his reign.

# HENRY I.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

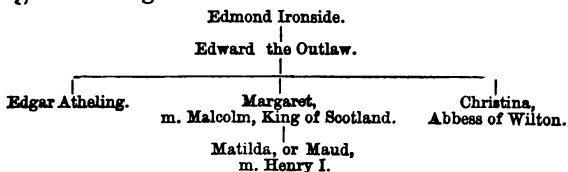
Emperors of Germany.	Kings of Scotland.	Kings of France.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Henry IV., 1106. Henry V., 1125. Lothaire II.	Edgar, 1106. Alexander I., 1124. David.	Philip I., 1106. Louis VI.	Alphonso VI., 1109. Alphonso VII., 1134. Alphon. VIII.	Paschal II., 1118. Gelasius III., 1119. Calixtus II., 1124. Honorius II., 1130. Innocent II.

Henry, who had accompanied his brother to the New Forest, on learning his death, rode at once to Winchester, seized the royal treasures, and had himself proclaimed king. On the third day from the death of William, he was crowned by the bishop of London. To support his usurpation (for the crown belonged to his elder brother, Robert, then absent in the Crusade), he made liberal promises to all classes. He removed the complaints of the clergy and filled up vacant benefices; he conciliated the nobles, by abolishing the grievances of wardship, marriage, and arbitrary reliefs, introduced by his father and brother; he won the support of the people by his promise to restore the laws of the Confessor, and to levy no taxes but such as were paid in Saxon times. Forest laws were, however, retained on the advice, as he declared, of his barons. His private conduct, which had hitherto resembled that of his profligate brother, William, was also reformed; and as earnest of the change, Anselm was invited to return to his see. Nothing, however, gave so much satisfaction to the nation as the king's marriage with a princess of their own race, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling.

Accession of Henry, A. D. 1106.

His charter.

Marries Matilda, niece of Edgar Atheling.



Matilda had for some time resided under the care of her aunt, Christina, in the Abbey of Wilton, and this circum-



Imprisonment  
of Ralph Flam-  
bard.

Flambard es-  
capes to Nor-  
mandy.

Robert in-  
vades England  
A. D. 1101.

Treaty be-  
tween Henry  
and Robert.

Revolt of  
Robert Belesme,  
A. D. 1103.

stance was held by some a bar to her marriage; but Anselm, after full inquiry, not only pronounced her free to marry, but performed the ceremony himself. Another popular act of Henry was the imprisonment of Ralph Flambard, the unscrupulous minister of his brother's exactions. Flambard, however, found means to escape to Normandy, where he was warmly welcomed by Duke Robert, who had returned from the Holy Wars, and was now occupied in spending in festivities and display the large dowry of his beautiful Apulian wife, Sibylla, the grand-daughter of the renowned Robert Guiscard. From Flambard Robert learned the discontent of the Barons of England with Henry's leaning to the English, and at his instigation he hastened to collect his forces for the assertion of his right to the English crown. He landed with a powerful army at Portsmouth, but chivalrously abstained from seizing Winchester, out of deference to his sister-in-law, Queen Matilda, who then resided there. On Robert's side was the greater part of the barons; on Henry's the English, the foreign mercenaries, but above all, the clergy and prelates, headed by Anselm. No battle ensued; through the exertions of the Primate, the brothers agreed to a treaty, by which Henry, besides the grant of a yearly pension of three thousand marks, surrendered to his brother his castles and possessions in Normandy, while Robert on his part gave up his claims to the English crown, and released Henry from the personal homage which he had formerly done to him. A further clause stipulated that on the death of either brother, without legitimate issue, his dominions should go to the survivor.

Though this danger had thus happily been averted, Henry, in spite of a clause of amnesty to the partizans of both brothers, resolved on punishing those barons who had espoused Robert's cause. The most powerful of these was Robert Belesme, a monster of cruelty, who held large possessions both in England and Normandy. Such was his confidence in his resources that he bade defiance to the king and immediately set about putting his castles in a posture of defence. His strongholds were, however, captured one after another, and he himself banished. In Normandy his power was still so great, that he was able to force a treaty from Duke Robert, by which he obtained the restoration of his father's possessions. This treaty with Belesme greatly irritated Henry, who at once sent

troops to secure certain castles in Normandy; Henry himself followed soon after, and took several towns. The struggle was brought to an issue, at the Battle of Tenchebrai, in which Duke Robert, Edgar Atheling, with several nobles and four hundred knights were made prisoners. Edgar Atheling was set at liberty and spent the rest of his life in obscurity, but Robert spent the rest of his days in confinement in the Castle of Cardiff.

Henry invades Normandy; Battle of Tenchebrai; capture and imprisonment of Robert, A. D. 1106.

A dispute about the town of Gisors, lying on the border between France and Normandy, led to a war between Henry and Lewis. This was terminated by the peace of Gisors, 1113, by which Lewis seems to have relinquished all feudal claims over Normandy, besides ceding to Henry the border-territory of Belesme, the former possession of the ferocious lord, Robert, now to the joy of all men pent close in an English dungeon. Fulk of Anjou, and Alan of Brittany, connected with Henry by marriages, did homage to him, and their acts were confirmed by Lewis.

Peace of Gisors, A. D. 1113.

The peace, however, did not last; a considerable portion of the Norman nobility still cherished the memory of Duke Robert, and wished to place his son William on the ducal throne. His cause was espoused by Lewis and the Count of Flanders, and the result was another prolonged war of sieges and petty skirmishes. Of these one known as the battle of Noyon, fought 1119, in which the King of England, at the head of five hundred knights, encountered the King of France, at the head of four hundred, was the most celebrated. The combat was by no means a bloody one, as of the entire only three were slain; but as one hundred and forty of the French knights were made prisoners, the English claimed the victory. King Lewis escaped from the field, under the guidance of a peasant, who, when he afterwards learned the rank of his charge, was much chagrined to think what a ransom he had lost. The fewness of the slain in these battles is ascribed to a refinement of the chivalrous sentiments, which sought not bloodshed but victory. The courtesies of the tournament were carried into the battle-field.

Battle of Noyon, A. D. 1119.

At the Council of Rheims, held 1119, Lewis presented a number of complaints against the King of England, on which the Pope promised that he would personally speak to Henry in reference to the various charges set forth. The interview took place at Gisors, and the Pope, on hearing Henry's explanation and justification, succeeded in establishing peace between the two monarchs.

Interview between Henry and the Pope, A. D. 1119.

So far all had gone well with Henry. Normandy was secured, and its barons had sworn fealty to Prince William the Etheling, the king's son, and their example was followed in the succeeding year by those of England. Complete peace reigned on both sides of the channel, and friendly relations with Flanders were restored. Exulting in the triumphant posture of his affairs, Henry embarked at Barfleur, for England. His son, Prince William, with a large number of the nobility, followed in another vessel called the White Ship. Wine had been freely distributed to the rowers, the master, Fitzstephen, was intoxicated, and unconscious of the condition of his men. The signal for departure being given, every effort was made to overtake the king's vessel. But whether from the fast rowing, or the drunkenness of the steersman, the vessel, notwithstanding the bright moonlight, was run on the rocks of Catteraze, and rapidly began to fill. The prince, who had been lowered into a boat, returned to succour his sister, the Countess of Perche; but on attempting to receive her, a despairing crowd jumped into the boat and sank it. The only survivor of the catastrophe was a butcher of Rouen. Henry, on being told of the loss of his son and the ruin of all his schemes, fell senseless to the ground, and, it is said, was never after seen to smile.

Loss of the  
White Ship.  
A. D. 1116.

Queen Matilda having died in 1118, Henry was at liberty to take a second wife, and chose Adelais, daughter of Geoffrey, Duke of Louvain, and niece of Pope Calixtus. The marriage was without issue, and the king, to keep the succession from his nephew William, resolved on settling the crown on his daughter Matilda, by the death of her husband the emperor, recently become a widow. The idea of a female sovereign was new to both Normans and English,\* nor was it pleasing to the empress herself. She obeyed, however, the commands of her father, and came to England. At a great meeting of the prelates and chief barons, Henry, while regretting the premature death of his son, proposed his daughter as the presumptive heiress to the crown. The assembly unanimously agreed, and all present swore to maintain her succession. The first place was taken by her uncle, King David of Scotland; the second by her cousin, Stephen, Count of Blois; and the third by her natural brother, Robert. To secure his continental

Henry's second  
marriage. A. D.  
1118.

The Barons  
swear to sup-  
port Matilda's  
succession  
A. D. 1120.

\* The brief reign of Sexburgha, before referred to, hardly qualifies this statement.

possessions, Henry negotiated a marriage between Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou, the son of Fulk, King of Jerusalem. The secrecy of the negotiations gave great offence to the English barons, who thought themselves entitled to a voice in the disposal of their future sovereign. Many even professed to regard the transaction as cancelling the obligations of the oath they had recently taken. Matilda herself greatly disliked the match; she did not wish to descend from the rank of empress to that of Countess of Anjou, nor was she pleased with an impetuous and wayward youth of sixteen for her second husband. The marriage, however, took place, and though it proved by no means a happy one, and though Geoffrey became troublesome and insolent to his father-in-law, Henry was pleased that it gave him three grandsons, Henry, Geoffrey, and William, and so secured the succession to his descendants.

Matilda's second marriage with Geoffrey of Anjou, A. D. 1127.

About this time William, son of Robert, who had been made Earl of Flanders by the French king, was slain just after the battle of Alost, in which he defeated Thierry of Alsace, who, at Henry's instigation, had laid claim to the Flemish succession. Duke Robert survived his son eight years. At first confined in the Castle of Devizes, he was, on the arrival of Matilda, for greater security, removed to that of Cardiff, where, in 1134, he died in the 80th year of his age and the 28th of his captivity. The death of the king followed soon after, brought on, it is said, by a fever induced by eating a dish of lampreys. On his death-bed he declared Matilda successor to all his possessions both in England and Normandy, and gave directions that his private property, after the payment of his debts, should be distributed to the poor. His body was taken to England and interred in the Abbey of Reading, which he himself had founded.

Battle of Alost and death of Prince William, son of Robert, A. D. 1128.

Death of Robert, A. D. 1134.

Death of the king, A. D. 1135.

The early years of Henry's reign were marked by a protracted contest with Anselm concerning the rights of investiture. This was a claim of the king to *invest* bishops and abbots with their authority and dignity by the grant of a ring and crosier, besides demanding from them as from lay-lords, personal homage and an oath of fealty. Anselm, who, during his exile, had himself taken part in the Council of Lateran, where the *investiture* of bishops by laymen was condemned, declared he would die rather than disobey the commands of the Church. Henry seemed equally bent on maintaining his pretensions. After many negotiations the

Quarrel about investiture.

aged primate solicited and obtained permission to make a journey to Rome in order to lay the whole case before the Pope. The final result was a compromise; Henry surrendered his claim to invest by ring and crosier—the symbols of spiritual jurisdiction—and the Pope permitted bishops to do homage to the king for their temporalities.

During the long reign of Henry the assimilation of the Norman and Saxon races made great progress, and the term English began to be applied to both. We have seen the King's leaning to the Saxon population at the beginning, the same thing was manifested in his preservation of the Saxon courts of the county and hundred which by his commands continued to be held on the same days as before the Conquest. The charter which he granted the people, at his accession, though unsatisfactory on the very sore point of the Forest Laws, proved a valuable precedent, and led in due time to the great charter of John, in which its most useful points were embodied. The stern administration of justice which marked his reign gained for Henry the title of "Lion of Justice." False coiners, thieves, and those of his followers who made the claim of *purveyance* a pretext for robbery and oppression of the people all felt his severity; when convicted they suffered death or mutilation. His continental wars entailed enormous expense, which led to ruinous exactions on the people. He was fond of pomp and ceremonious display, and on state occasions had his treasures, jewels, and golden vases arranged on a table before him. He was one of the richest monarchs of his time; his successor found a hundred thousand pounds of silver in the treasury after his death. For the peaceful, stable character of his government at home, and his political successes abroad, Henry was largely indebted to two statesmen, Roger, Bishop of Sarum, and Robert, Earl of Mellent. The former was chief justiciary, and acted as regent of the kingdom during the king's absence. The latter accompanied the king in all his expeditions to the continent, and was his chief adviser in all matters of consequence. He was regarded as the greatest statesman of his time. Both bishop and earl acquired vast power and wealth, and we shall see those of the bishop exciting the persecuting jealousy of Henry's successor.

## STEPHEN, 1135-1154.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	Kings of France.	Kings of Scotland.	King of Spain.	Popes.
Lothaire II., 1138. Conrad III., 1152. Frederic I.,	Louis VI., 1137. Louis VII.,	David I., 1153. Malcolm IV.	Alphonso VII.	Innocent II., 1143. Celestine II., 1144. Lucius II., 1145. Eugenius III., 1153. Anastasius IV.

Of all the barons who had sworn to Henry to maintain the succession of the Empress Matilda, none seemed more zealous in that cause than Stephen, the king's nephew, the son of his sister Adela, who had married the Count of Blois. We have seen how he claimed and had granted him precedence of the king's natural son, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and so took the oath immediately after the empress's uncle, King David of Scotland. If, as is probable, he already had the throne in view, this public recognition of his rank as the foremost man in the kingdom, next the king, was a point of great consequence to him. His career had been fortunate and well calculated to fan ambition. He had received from his uncle several estates in England, besides the earldom of Moretoil in Normandy, granted him in reward of his valour at the battle of Tenchebrai. By his marriage with Matilda, the daughter and heiress of the Earl Boulogne, he became possessed of the territory of his father-in-law as well as of the vast estates in England with which the conqueror had endowed the Boulogne family. His courage, generosity and courtesy, made him a general favourite with the barons, while his frankness and affability rendered him very popular with the humbler classes and especially with the citizens of London. In examining his prospects of success as a candidate for the throne, there was much to encourage him: A female sovereign was a thing unknown among both Saxons and Normans and was by many regarded with great dislike; the force of hereditary rights had been much weakened by the example of the three preceding monarchs who had all been successful usurpers; his brother Henry, who from being Abbot of Glastonbury, had been made Bishop of Winchester, was in a position to

Position and prospects of Stephen.

Encouraging considerations: (1) dislike of female reign: (2) weakness of sentiment of hereditary rights: (3) influence of his brother Henry, bishop of Winchester: (4) relationship by marriage with David of Scotland.

Stephen's  
coronation at  
Winchester,  
A. D. 1135.

His promises.

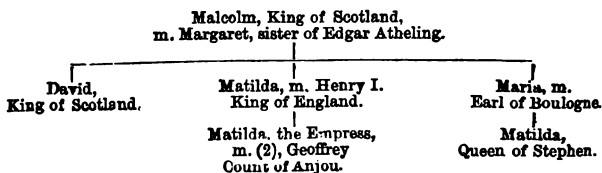
Renew his  
promises with  
additions.

exercise a favourable influence on the other prelates and clergy; lastly, the opposition of David of Scotland, the most formidable supporter of the empress, was likely to be moderated by his affection for his other niece,\* Matilda, wife of Stephen. Encouraged by these considerations, Stephen, on learning his uncle's death, crossed the channel and landed in Kent. Thence he set out for London, where the populace proclaimed him king, after which he continued his journey to Winchester, where he was met by a number of friends, among whom were his brother and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Here the keys of the castle and those of the royal treasures were placed in his hand, and it was determined to proceed at once to the coronation. The scruples of the primate to crown one who had publicly sworn to support the succession of another, were removed by the oath of Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, that King Henry on his death-bed had revoked the grant to his daughter and transferred it to Stephen. The ceremony then proceeded, and Stephen in imitation of his uncle swore he would never receive any profits from vacant benefices; that neither clerk nor laymen should be molested in the possession of his woods and forests; and lastly, that he would wholly remit the heavy and odious tax of Danegild. Once a crowned king, barons and prelates rapidly thronged to his court, and in a very short time he was accepted by the whole nation. One of his first acts after his authority had been fairly established, was to summon a meeting of prelates and barons at Oxford, where he renewed the promises made at his coronation and added two others: to restore the ancient laws, and to permit the barons to build such castles on their estates as their defence or security might require.

While these things were taking place in England,

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\* RELATIONSHIP OF THE TWO MATILDAS TO DAVID AND EACH OTHER.



Matilda and her husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, were endeavouring to enforce her claims in Normandy; but the barons of that country, having heard of Stephen's coronation, and desirous of preserving the relations between the Duchy and England, submitted to him.

Normandy at first submits to Stephen.

King David of Scotland, was the first to take up arms according to his oath, in favour of the Empress; but on meeting Stephen, at the head of a strong army, the two kings entered into a treaty and Prince Henry of Scotland did homage to Stephen for the towns of Carlisle, Doncaster, and Huntingdon.

Treaty between Stephen and the King of Scotland who had invaded England.

This happy state of relations did not continue, and David for some reason again resumed hostilities. In the course of the year 1138, he thrice invaded the northern counties. The merciless ferocity with which these raids were conducted at last drove the people to despair; and Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, having summoned the northern barons, exhorted them to combine in defence of their families and their homes. After three days of devotional exercises, the archbishop made them swear that they would never desert each other, and then gave them his blessing. A standard was formed by fixing the mast of a vessel firmly in a cart. On the top was a cross with a silver box in its centre containing the Host. At Northallerton the two armies met, and the impetuous onset of the Scotch, hitherto so successful, on this occasion proved powerless to break the phalanx of spears that bristled round the English standard. In a couple of hours they abandoned the attack and were obliged to retreat at a loss of nearly half their army. This engagement is known as the battle of the Standard. In the following year another treaty of peace was made, and Prince Henry of Scotland received from Stephen the earldom of Northumberland.

David's second invasion of England: Battle of the Standard. A. D. 1138

It was while these things were taking place in the north that Stephen found himself involved in a quarrel which drew after it endless trouble, and probably deprived his posterity of that crown he had so boldly and skilfully seized. Roger, Bishop of Sarum, chief justiciary in the late reign, was one of those prelates who, from having been largely employed in civil affairs, came to imitate the martial style and worldly display of a feudal baron. He had two nephews, also bishops, who in this respect followed his example. Stephen had become convinced that the

The King's quarrel with the Bishop of Sarum and his nephews.



Arrest of  
the Bishops of  
Salisbury and  
Lincoln, A. D.  
1139.

The king is  
arraigned be-  
fore a synod  
of bishops,  
presided over  
by his brother  
Henry as Pa-  
pal legate.

The Empress  
Matilda lands  
and civil war  
begins, A. D.  
1139.

Stephen  
made pri-  
soner at Lin-  
coln, A. D. 1141.

The Legate  
joins the  
party of the  
Empress, A. D.  
1141.

The Empress  
offends the  
Londoners,  
and is chased  
from the city

Bishop of Sarum was secretly his enemy, and he resolved on the seizure of his castles on some pretext or other. Such a one was created by a quarrel prearranged by the king's friends between the retainers of Bishop Roger and those of two foreign nobles. Next day the Bishop of Sarum and his nephew, the Bishop of Lincoln, were arrested on the charge of breaking the king's peace in the king's court. They were confined in separate dungeons, and informed that only on condition of surrendering their castles to the king could they hope to procure their liberty. They agreed, and the castles of Newark, Salisbury, Sherburn, Malmsbury, and Devizes were given up to the king. This act of Stephen's alienated the clergy, and his own brother Henry, created Papal legate by Pope Innocent, joined the party of his enemies and summoned the king to justify his conduct before a synod of bishops. The synod met, but the accused bishops refused to plead till their property was restored. This Stephen refused, and, forbidding the synod to proceed further, appealed to the Pope. Soon after, Matilda, with 140 knights, landed in Suffolk, and the civil war began. Matilda's standard was erected at Gloucester, Bristol, Canterbury, and Dover, the possessions of her brother Robert. Stephen's standard floated over the royal fortresses. In the country many barons, securing themselves in their castles, held aloof from both parties till success should indicate what cause was safe to espouse. The first decisive blow was struck by Robert, who surprised the king as he was besieging the castle of Lincoln, and made him prisoner. This blow seemed fatal to the royalists. It was followed by another not less important—a treaty between Matilda and Henry, the legate, brother of Stephen, to the effect that the latter should procure the ratification of the empress's title by the clergy, in return for which he should be appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and should have the entire disposal of ecclesiastical patronage during her reign. Henry did as agreed, and procured from the clergy a declaration of their adhesion to the side of the empress. But Matilda herself at this time neutralized all her good fortune by her haughty and contemptuous treatment of the citizens of London. Matilda, wife of Stephen, hearing of the discontent in the city, sent a body of horse, under her banner, who, being joined by the citizens, the empress was at once compelled to quit the city. She next began to suspect the

legate, and besieged him in his castle of Winchester. Here, however, she herself was soon after besieged, and in the end compelled to fly. The empress got off, but Earl Robert, her brother, was captured, and shortly after exchanged for the king. Stephen's first efforts, on the resumption of hostilities, was to capture the empress, then residing at Oxford. The empress, on his approach, retired to the castle, but Stephen sat down resolutely before it. In ten weeks provisions failed, but the empress, having bribed the nearest sentinel, accompanied by three knights, all clothed in white, succeeded in escaping over the snow. Death soon after deprived her of her brother Robert and other friends; she grew weary of the struggle and retired to Normandy. Her departure did not much improve Stephen's circumstances. He acted with several of his barons as he had already done with the Bishop of Sarum, treacherously seizing their persons, and then making the surrender of their castles the price of their liberty. He was next involved in a quarrel with Archbishop Theobald, who refused to crown the king's son Eustace, on the ground that what was got by force could not be transmitted to his posterity. The king was furious, and banished the archbishop; but the Pope sustained the action of the latter, and published an excommunication and interdict against the king.

Earl Robert, captured and exchanged for the king, A.D. 1141.

The Empress retires to Normandy.

Stephen's tyranny; his quarrel with Archbishop Theobald.

A new personage now appeared on the scene—Henry, son of Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou. From his father he obtained the duchy of Normandy and earldom of Anjou, and by his marriage with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, he obtained the duchy of Aquitaine. He now landed in England to assert his mother's claim, but the death of his eldest son, Eustace, had disposed Stephen to listen to terms of compromise, and a treaty, of which the following were the principal articles, was agreed to on both sides.

- I. Stephen was to continue king for life, but on his death the crown was to go to Henry and his heirs for ever.
- II. Prince William, eldest surviving son of Stephen, was to inherit all the possessions which his father possessed before his accession to the throne, as well as what, by his marriage or by gift, he had since acquired. To these Henry, of his own bounty, added several manors in Kent.

Treaty of Winchester A.D. 1153.

III. By other articles, the barons of each were to swear fealty to the other, those of Stephen, however, reserving their allegiance to him as Sovereign; the officers of the royal fortresses were to give hostages to the duke for their delivery to him on the king's death; lastly, the clergy took the oath of fealty to Henry, and promised to support the observance of the treaty by ecclesiastical censures against its violation.

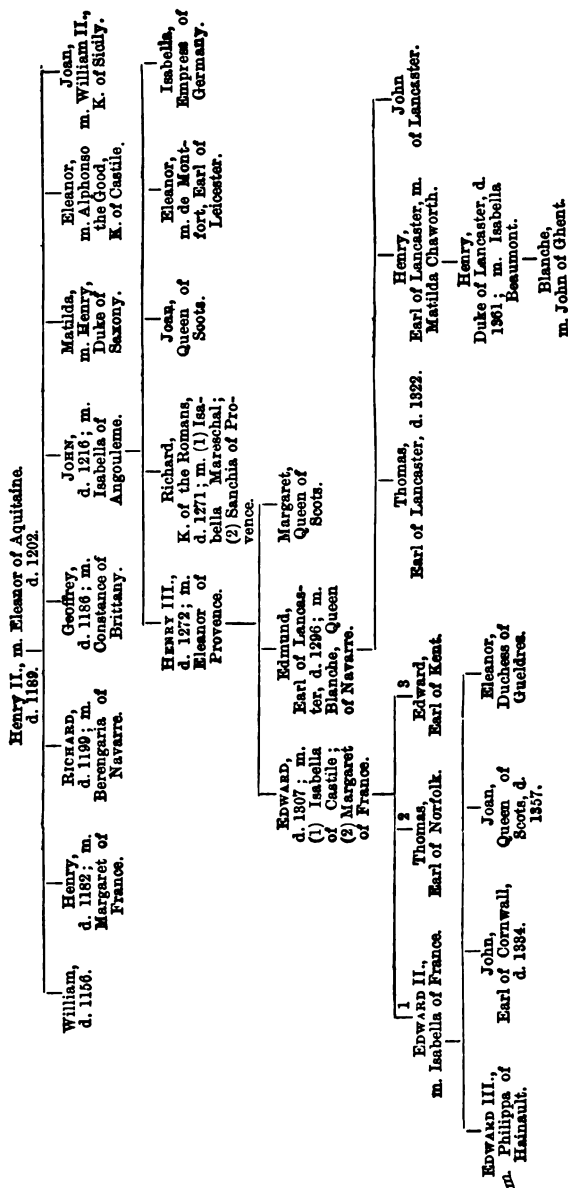
From the conclusion of this arrangement the relations between Stephen and Henry were those of the warmest friendship. In some joint progresses, which they made through the country, this was observed by the people who testified their joy by the processions and acclamations with which they everywhere received them. In the Easter of 1154, Henry passed over to Normandy, whence he did not return till after the king's death, which took place in October of the same year.

Death of  
Stephen.  
A. D. 1154.

Stephen was buried beside his son Eustace and his wife Matilda in the Abbey of Faversham, which he himself had founded.

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# GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE PLANTAGENETS\* FROM HENRY II. TO EDWARD III.



\* The father of Fulk, King of Jerusalem, and great-grandfather of Henry II., was called Plantagenet from his device of a sprig of broom (*planta de genêve*), but the term was not used as a distinctive name till the fifteenth century, when it was applied to Richard, Duke of York, who was known as Edward Plantagenet.

## PLANTAGENET KINGS.

## HENRY II., 1154-1189.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	Kings of France.	Kings of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Frederick I.	Louis VII., 1180. Philip Augustus.	Malcolm IV., 1165. William.	Alphonso VIII., 1157. Sancho III., 1158. Alphonso IX.	Anastasius, 1154. Adrian IV., 1159. Alexander III., 1181. Lucius III., 1185. Urban III., 1187. Gregory VIII., 1187.

A.D. 1154.  
Henry arrives  
in England.

His Continental  
possessions.

Henry was engaged in the siege of a Norman castle, when he received news of Stephen's death, but so confident was he in the loyalty of the people, that he determined to reduce the place before he set out to take possession of the crown which awaited him. Partly from this cause, partly from contrary winds, six weeks elapsed before he arrived in England. Several circumstances made him welcome to the people, his youth, his descent through his mother from the ancient kings of the nation, and the great accession of power and territory which he brought to the English crown. He owned nearly a third of France; and though nominally a vassal of the French king, he possessed, even before he succeeded to the English throne, more real power than that monarch. Through his mother, Henry inherited Normandy and Maine; through his father, Anjou and Touraine; with his wife Eleanor he received the seven provinces of Poitou, Saintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, Limousin, Angoumois, and Guienne.

At Winchester the new monarch was welcomed by the nobles, and at Westminster he and his queen were crowned amid great pomp and rejoicings. Henry, however, amid the pageantry and festivities usual on such occasions did not neglect business. His first efforts were directed to the reduction of those castles which had been built in the reign of Stephen, and had not only excited and prolonged the

civil war, but had become so many asylums for robbers and bandits, who plundered and tortured the wretched people in the most inhuman manner. Their destruction and the banishment of those of their owners who had incurred the king's anger or awakened his jealousy, proved an easy task to a prince of Henry's power and popularity. Foreign mercenaries, invited from the Continent during the troubles of the previous reign, were driven out of the country, and the debased coinage was replaced by another of standard purity and weight. In the Easter of 1155, the king summoned an assembly of barons at Wallingford. Among the business brought before them was the settlement of the succession to the crown, and to this end the king required them to swear fealty to his eldest son, William, and also to his next son, Henry, who was to succeed in case of William's death, an event which took place soon after. At a similar meeting held a little later in London, the king confirmed to his subjects the Charter of Liberties granted by his grandfather, Henry I. Henry's principal advisers in state affairs at this time were the Earl of Leicester, Chief Justiciary; Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury; and Thomas à Becket, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who, on the Archbishop's recommendation, was raised to the office of Chancellor. Becket was the son of Gilbert, a citizen of London, and received his early education at the Abbey of Merton. Later, he studied at Oxford, Paris, Bologna, and Auxerre. At the two latter he studied the civil and canon laws; at Bologna, under Gratian, the first canonist of the age, and at Auxerre under another famous professor. On his return, his character and great attainments procured him rapid preferment, and on the Archdeaconry of Canterbury becoming vacant, he was appointed to it by the primate. To the favour of the latter he also owed his introduction to the young king, and his appointment to the office of chancellor, as stated above. With the king he seems to have lived on terms of the most familiar friendship. At this period Becket seems to have entirely conformed to courtly ways; his palace was the rendezvous for all the young nobles, and in hunting, hawking, playing at chess, and other knightly amusements, none could equal the witty and learned chancellor. When on one occasion he went to France as ambassador from Henry, the magnificence of his train astonished the Parisians. He did not hesitate, too, to imitate some of the warlike ecclesiastics of

The King demolishes the castles and banishes the mercenaries which had done such mischief in previous reigns. He restores the purity of the coin.

Assembly at Wallingford. The barons swear fealty to the Princes William and Henry.

His Council.

Thomas a Becket.

earlier times; for in a war between his master and Louis for the possession of Toulouse, the chancellor led into the field a large body of dependents and mercenaries equipped and maintained at his own expense. Yet whatever may now be thought of the inconsistency of such conduct with the ecclesiastical character, it is also admitted that throughout all this time amid the gaiety and levity of a luxurious court, his private life was one of the utmost decorum and propriety, nor could the most malignant of his enemies find any ground for assailing his private morals.

Henry takes  
Anjou from  
his brother  
Geoffrey.

When the king had settled the succession, appointed his chief councillors, and reduced the land to peace by the expulsion of turbulent barons and foreign mercenaries, his thoughts were turned to his continental possessions. He was obliged to resist the claim of his brother Geoffrey to Anjou, a claim based on a secret article in their father's will, that if Henry succeeded to the throne of England, Anjou should go to his brother. Geoffrey, after a vain attempt to enforce his demand by arms, was obliged to content himself with a pension of £3,000, and a sufficient amount of land to support his dignity.

He compels  
Malcolm of  
Scotland to  
restore the  
three north-  
ern counties.

Promises or oaths seemed to have had but little influence over the mind of Henry when his ambition was concerned. While the issue of the war between his mother and Stephen was still doubtful, he had paid a visit to his uncle David of Scotland, and received from him the honour of knighthood. Stephen had previously surrendered to David the three northern counties, and Henry promised his uncle that should he ever come to possess the throne of his ancestors he would not reclaim them. Now, however, that he did possess that throne, he did not hesitate to demand from Malcolm, David's grandson, their restoration—a demand which Malcolm was not in a position to refuse.

Battle of  
Coleshill, A.D.  
1167.

A war with the Welsh, who had refused to do homage, opened disastrously for the king. Henry's army fell into an ambuscade at Coleshill, in Flintshire, and was cut to pieces, he himself narrowly escaping. The war, however, was ultimately brought to a successful issue, and Owen Gwynedd, and Rees ap Gryffith, the kings of North and South Wales, did homage to the English king and gave hostages for their fidelity.

The death of his brother Geoffrey, Earl of Nantes, called

the king to Normandy. Fearing the King of France would oppose his claim to succeed as his brother's heir, he opened a negotiation with that monarch for the marriage of his son Henry, then in his fifth year, to Margaret, daughter of Louis, still an infant in the cradle. The adjustment of the terms was committed to Becket, who secured conditions very favourable to his master.

Betrothal of  
Prince Henry  
and the Prin-  
cess Margaret  
of France.

Henry's attention was next directed to the recovery of Toulouse, part of the inheritance of Eleanor, his queen, but which her grandfather was compelled by his extravagance to mortgage to Raymond de Gilles, who had married the sister of King Louis.

4.12. 1154.

Expedition  
for the re-  
covery of  
Toulouse.

As the King of England approached at the head of a great army, in which served Malcolm of Scotland, a prince of Wales, and Berenger, King of Arragon, Raymond sought the aid of his brother-in-law, the French king, who, complying with his request, threw himself with a chosen body of knights into the threatened city. Henry, on learning that the King of France was within the walls, seemed greatly embarrassed, for he could not, he professed, think of attacking a place defended by his liege lord with whom he was at peace. Becket advised an assault, dwelling on the advantages to be gained from the possession of the French king's person. Henry, however, either swayed by his habitual caution, or, perhaps, fearing to afford a dangerous precedent for the rebellion of vassals against their lords, withdrew from an enterprise which had cost him much treasure.

It was in connexion with this expedition that the novelty of scutage was introduced. This was an arrangement by which the king's vassals, in lieu of the personal attendance of themselves and their appointed contingent of knights and retainers, paid to the king a sum of money equivalent to what such attendance would have cost them. The money thus obtained was employed in the payment of mercenaries; that is, soldiers by profession who possessed not only more military skill, but were especially more amenable to discipline than any feudal army. The idea of scutage is ascribed to Becket, who impressed the king with its greater convenience and advantage. As there were 60,000 knights' fees in England, and scutage was assessed at the rate of £3 for each knight's fee, the total would yield £180,000, a sum for those days almost incredible.

First pay-  
ment of  
scutage  
1154.



A. D. 1100.

The King  
has the mar-  
riage of Prince  
Henry and  
Margaret  
solemnized.

The retreat of Henry from Toulouse prepared the way for an amicable meeting between him and Louis, at which a satisfactory adjustment of their affairs was agreed on. But this happy condition of things did not last: a third marriage of the French king with the niece of the late King Stephen gave umbrage to Henry, who immediately procured a dispensation, and had the contract of marriage between his son Henry and Margaret, the daughter of Louis, actually solemnized in London. The prince was in his seventh, the princess in her third year. The object of this proceeding was to obtain possession of the three castles that formed the dower of the princess, and which, according to the treaty, were to continue in the hands of the Knights Templars till the solemnisation of the marriage, when they were to be delivered up. The Knights Templars who witnessed the marriage ceremony at once transferred the castles to the King of England. For this they were expelled from France, and the indignation of Louis further urged him to take arms against Henry; but the timely intervention of the papal legates, then in France, prevented bloodshed, and another reconciliation was effected.

Becket  
becomes Arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury, A. D.  
1162.

The death of Archbishop Theobald, in 1161, placed the see of Canterbury at Henry's disposal. He kept it vacant for thirteen months, during which its revenues went to the royal exchequer, and then sending for Becket, intimated his intention of making him Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket at first declined, and cautioned the king that such an office would render the continuance of their friendship impossible. The chancellor's objections were finally overcome, and he was consecrated by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a vast crowd of prelates and nobles.

Complete  
change in the  
character.

From this time a complete change marked the character of Becket. He gave up the chancellor's seal, he dropped every trace of the worldly pomp with which he had formerly been surrounded, and conformed scrupulously to the duties and decencies of his station. By way of punishment for his previous worldliness, he practised secret mortifications. He selected his companions from the most virtuous and learned of his clergy; all the time he could spare from duty he spent in study, prayer, and other religious exercises. This change on the archbishop's part was accompanied by a perceptible diminution of the royal favour. At last a dispute as to the jurisdiction of the

ecclesiastical courts completed the estrangement of king and primate.

We have seen that in England, unlike the practice in other Christian countries, secular and ecclesiastical judicatures had continued united till the time of the Conqueror. He first established spiritual courts, where a system of ecclesiastical law compiled from the canons of councils, the decrees of popes, and the teaching of the early fathers, was dispensed by the bishop and his archdeacons.

The publication, in 1151, of the "*Decretum*" of Gratian, a systematic digest of this ecclesiastical jurisprudence in imitation of the newly-discovered pandects of Justinian, marks the date from which the canon law took its place beside the civil law as equally symmetrical, logical, and subtle, and equally worthy the attention of scholars. Growth of the Canon Law. One consequence flowing from the improved arrangement and from the impetus given to its study was, that the ecclesiastical courts displayed an evident and increasing superiority to those lay courts where the barbarous customary laws were capriciously administered by men of little learning and no legal training. The consequence was a decided preference for the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and a general rush of causes to their tribunals—facts which naturally excited the jealousy and enmity of the secular courts, that is, of the king and barons who profited largely by the fees, fines, and other charges incident to litigation in them.

Henry's attack on the clergy was directed at first against the criminal jurisdiction of these ecclesiastical courts. Henry's attack on the privileges of the clergy. He maintained that the penalties which they could inflict were inadequate to punish the offences of which the clergy were, from time to time, guilty. He therefore demanded that in future clerks guilty of serious crimes should be first degraded by the ecclesiastical courts, and then handed over to the civil power to receive adequate punishment. To this demand, made to the assembled prelates at Westminster, he received a firm but respectful answer objecting to the proposed change—1, as one placing the English clergy in a different position from those of other Christian countries; 2, as a violation of the terms of the coronation-oath, in which the king promised to maintain and defend the rights and liberties of the Church; and 3, as a measure contrary to the great legal principle that no man should be tried twice for the same crime. On

Dispute as  
to the "Cus-  
toms."

receiving this reply the king shifted his ground, and asked whether the prelates "would observe the ancient customs of the realm;" to which, after retiring for a brief consultation, the primate made answer for himself and brethren that they would observe the Customs "*saving their order*." The king burst into a fury, charged them with leaguering against him, and abruptly left the hall. The uncompromising resistance to Henry which the bishops had displayed was largely due to the example and arguments of the primate. The king now directed his efforts to winning them individually, and among those thus gained was Roger, Archbishop of York. Even the primate himself became at length wearied out with the incessant appeals of his friends, and threats and false promises of the royal emissaries, and agreed to make the promise without the obnoxious saving clause. An assembly was soon after summoned at Clarendon to settle finally this matter of the "Customs."

Council of  
Clarendon,  
A. D. 1164.

The Primate  
promises  
to the  
Customs.

At this famous assembly Becket became suspicious, from the angry tone of the king, who now called on the bishops to fulfil their promise. Becket again ventured to request that the clause might still be admitted, on which the passion of the king rose to a furious height, and by way of intimidation, a number of knights with drawn swords entered the chamber from an adjoining apartment. Their presence terrified the other prelates, who, with the nobles present, besought the primate to prevent bloodshed by compliance, which at last he did, but added a request that the king would inform them what the Customs were. Nobody exactly knew, but a committee was appointed to inquire, which next day presented to the assembly the sixteen Constitutions of Clarendon, to which the king demanded that the prelates should affix their seals. All complied except the primate, who refused, on the ground that he had already done all he had promised.

Constitutions  
of Clarendon.  
A. D. 1164.

Of these sixteen famous articles the following are some of the principal:—Suits of advowson and presentation of churches to be tried in the king's court; the king to have the custody and receive the revenues of vacant sees and abbays of the royal demense; that the election of a new incumbent be made by the clergy assembled in the king's chapel with the king's consent, and by virtue of his writ; prelates and dignified clergy not to quit the kingdom without the king's licence; no tenant *in capite* or officer of the

royal household to be excommunicated, or have his lands placed under interdict without previous notification to the king or his justiciary; the sons of villains not to be ordained without the consent of the lord on whose land they were born.

The primate had hardly returned from the council when he repented of his culpable facility in taking the oath to observe the Customs; nor did his hesitating compliance mitigate Henry's resentment, which now pursued him more bitterly than ever. The vindictive monarch changed his point of attack, and dropping the controversy as to the "Customs," he harassed the archbishop by demanding, on the most vexatious pretexts, various sums, all which the primate, as long as he was able, paid. At last the king demanded a sum of 44,000 marks, as balance due to the Crown from the primate's receipts during his chancellorship. To pay this enormous and groundless claim was of course impossible, and the archbishop, rightly deeming that his destruction was resolved on, secretly withdrew and crossed over to France, where he met with the warmest reception from Louis. The Pope Alexander then resided at Sens, and there Becket submitted to him and the College of Cardinals the Constitutions; they were at once condemned, the Pope remarking, after more minute examination, that while not one was good, six might, perhaps, be tolerated, but ten were to be absolutely condemned. In his French retreat Becket, occupied chiefly in the study of Church polity and canon law, became less disposed than ever to yield to the civil power in whatever pertained to the rights of the Church. He determined, too, on bolder measures, and in the church of Vezelay, on Whitsunday, 1166, he solemnly excommunicated by name several barons who had invaded the possessions of his see; also Richard Lacy and Joceline Baliol, who had drawn up the sixteen Constitutions; and in general all who should observe, abet, or enforce them. He intimated unmistakably that persistence in his conduct would bring on the king himself a similar sentence as well as an interdict on his dominions. Henry sought to ward off the blow by despatching messengers to the Pope, who, desirous of bringing about an accord between the king and the primate, sent nuncios for that purpose to Henry. Negotiations, however, failed; and, in the meantime, the king further outraged the dignity of the primate by having his son, Prince Henry,

The Consti-  
tutions con-  
demned by  
the Pope.

The Primate  
excommuni-  
cates his ene-  
mies. A. D.  
1166.

King and  
Primate  
conciled  
at  
Fretval, A. D.  
1170.

Excommuni-  
cation of the  
Archbishop of  
York and the  
Bishops of  
London and  
Salisbury.

crowned by the Archbishop of York—an honour that had, time out of mind, been the peculiar privilege of the See of Canterbury. Letters prohibiting the Archbishop of York and other prelates from performing this ceremony had been issued, but they were not publicly delivered. At length Henry, yielding to the pressure put upon him by the Pope, met the primate at the meadow of Fretval, on the borders of Touraine. A satisfactory adjustment of differences, as far as it could be effected by promises and an apparently sincere reconciliation, were the results. The primate and his followers soon after set out for England, and on their arrival at Canterbury were received by the people with the warmest rejoicing. An unfortunate incident, however, destroyed all prospects of peace, and led to the tragedy enacted soon after. Pope Alexander, before he had heard of the Fretval reconciliation, had issued letters either of suspension or excommunication against the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury. These prelates, knowing that the returning primate had such letters upon him, despatched a party of soldiers to search him on landing. The primate, informed of their intentions, had sent these letters on before, and they were afterwards publicly delivered to the three bishops. The suspended prelates hastened to Normandy and complained to the king, who at once flew into a rage, and cried: "Of the cowards who eat my bread is there not one who will free me from this turbulent priest?" The words were not lost on some of those present. On the 28th December, 1170, as the primate was occupied in a private apartment, four knights were announced who were immediately invited to come in. Their names were Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito. An angry dialogue at once commenced, in which the visitors charged the archbishop with treason against the young king, and commanded him to withdraw the excommunication of the bishops. On the primate's denial of all charges, and his firm refusal either to withdraw the excommunication or to quit the kingdom, the knights rose, and commanding the monks present, in the king's name, to guard the archbishop, abruptly left the room.

They had retired to arm themselves, and then returned with some soldiers. On their approach the archbishop's attendants dragged him by main force into the church, whither the assassins soon after followed, the door being

opened to them by the order of the archbishop himself. "Where's the traitor Becket?" cried Fitzurse, to which there was no reply. "Where's the archbishop?" he then cried. "If you seek the archbishop, here I am," said the primate descending the steps of the altar; "what is your will?" They again demanded the removal of the excommunications of the bishops, but he replied that he could not do so till they made satisfaction. "Then die," exclaimed one of them. "I am ready," replied the archbishop, "to die for the peace and liberty of the Church; but, in the name of God, I forbid you to hurt any of my people." Fitzurse then moved back, and struck a blow with all his might, but its force was broken by the interposition of the arm of a monk named Edward Grimm, who seems to have courageously stood by the primate in this awful scene. The arm of Grimm was broken by the blow, which then grazed the head of the archbishop, cutting him slightly. On seeing the blood he mildly bent his head, ejaculating: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" The second stroke threw him on his knees, and the third severed part of his scull. Seeing this, a retainer of De Broc, whom on the previous Christmas Day he had excommunicated, applied the point of his sword, drew forth the brain, and scattered it about the floor, adding: "Fear not, the man will never rise again."

Assassination  
of the Pri-  
mate, 29th  
Dec., 1170.

Henry was keeping the holidays at the castle of Bure, in Normandy, when the news of the primate's assassination reached him. He was filled with horror and gave way to the wildest grief. He had reason for uneasiness; the whole Christian world was shocked, and vengeance was demanded on the King of England as the real murderer. Henry at once sent envoys to the Pope to declare his innocence, but the Pontiff, having patiently heard them, excommunicated by a general sentence the murderers of the archbishop, and all who advised, or abetted, or assented to their crime. He confirmed the interdict already laid on the French possessions of Henry, and appointed Cardinals Theodin and Albert his legates, to hear the cause. Henry, though treated more mildly than he expected, did not know the legates' instructions, and, at any rate, did not desire to meet them so soon, and so left Normandy for England; whence, after a brief stay, he took shipping for Ireland; where events of importance had transpired, and where, especially, he would be safe from a visit of the legates.

Henry re-  
ceives the  
news.

The Pope  
excommuni-  
cates the mur-  
derers, their  
aiders, and  
abettors.

Invasion of  
Ireland, A. D.  
1172.

The subjugation of Ireland is said to have been a favourite idea with William the Conqueror and his sons, Rufus and Henry; the Red King heroically spoke of bridging the Irish Sea with his ships. That the thought presented itself to Henry II. very early is clear from the characteristic measures of craft and hypocrisy by which he sought to effect it. The pontificate of Nicholas Breakspere, known as Adrian IV.—the only Englishman who ever wore the tiara, seemed to Henry a favourable occasion to procure, for his meditated treachery against a peaceful and unoffending people, the sanction of an authority to which the Irish nation always paid the utmost deference. After describing to the Pontiff in the blackest colours the social and religious condition of Ireland, he professed a desire to rectify so sad a state of things, to introduce civilisation, to reform the morals of clergy and people, to restore the discipline of the Church, and (he was not ashamed to add) to extend to Ireland the annual payment of Peter's-pence. To this end he solicited his Holiness's permission to undertake so great and beneficent a work. Adrian, who could not be deceived by such transparent hypocrisy, nevertheless granted the request, merely bidding Henry to remember the conditions on which he did so. This, however, was not the primary cause of Henry's intervention in the affairs of Ireland; it was brought about, as in so many other cases, by internal dissension and treachery. Devorgilda, wife of O'Ruarc, Prince of Breffni, had eloped with Dermot, King of Leinster. The outraged husband sought and obtained the aid of the King of Connaught, and Devorgilda was restored. The feud thus created between O'Ruarc and Dermot ended in the latter being compelled to quit the kingdom. Burning with revenge and utterly lost to any such sentiment as patriotism, he hastened to Henry then in Aquitaine, did him homage for his kingdom, and in return, obtained letters authorising English subjects to assist him. Dermot, on his return through Wales, was joined by Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, and two brothers, the sons of a Welsh princess, Nesta, by different husbands, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen. Dermot started at once for Ireland, his new allies promising to follow as soon as possible. Fitzstephen, who landed at Bannock Bay, brought with him one hundred and forty knights and three hundred archers. These were joined by Dermot and his army, and the united forces laid

siege to Wexford, which they took. They next attacked the King of Ossory, who repulsed all their efforts till the flight of the strangers induced the Ossory men to pursue, when their broken order could no longer resist the shock of the mail-clad knights mounted on heavy war-horses. The battle was restored, and victory ultimately remained with Dermod and his allies. Soon after this event Fitzgerald arrived, and landed near Waterford. He brought with him twenty knights and one hundred and seventy archers. He was met by O'Phelan, who, at the head of a considerable force, compelled the strangers to take refuge at the rock of Dundolf, whence, however, they could not be dislodged. Here an act of frightful cruelty was perpetrated: some Irish prisoners had fallen into their hands during the various assaults; these, after the contest was over, had first their limbs broken and were then precipitated over the rocks into the sea. The last of the three adventurers to arrive was Strongbow; he came, bringing with him a force of twelve hundred archers and knights. With his aid Dermod became master of Waterford and Dublin. An attempt to retake the latter was made from the river by Asculf, at the head of a fleet of sixty Norwegian vessels; but it failed, as did also another attempt made by Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, who sat down before the city with a considerable force. Dermod's ambition now aimed at nothing less than the monarchy of all Ireland; his schemes in this direction were, however, cut short by death. He had appointed as his successor, Earl Strongbow, to whom he had given his daughter Eva in marriage, and who now accordingly assumed the royal authority. Meantime, the success of the adventurers had roused the jealousy and suspicion of Henry; and Strongbow, fearing the king's wrath, hastened to England, and having, with some difficulty, procured an audience, renewed his homage, and surrendered into the hands of the king the city of Dublin, and all harbours and castles, and agreed to hold his remaining Irish lands as a fief of the English Crown; Henry was satisfied, but wished to visit Ireland in person. He embarked at Milford Haven, with a fleet of four hundred vessels and a large force of knights and archers, and landed at Waterford. He was anxious to win the Irish chiefs by conciliation. A number of them thronged to his court at Dublin, and tendered him a nominal submission. Neither O'Connor nor the princes of Ulster would see the invader;

Wexford  
taken by Dermod.

Fitzgerald  
and Raymond  
land near Waterford.

Henry visits  
Ireland.



O'Connor be-  
comes Henry's  
vassal, A.D.  
1155.

but the former agreed to meet his envoys at the banks of the Shannon, where he is said to have acknowledged the authority of the English monarch. In 1175, he sent the Archbishop of Tuam to England, and a treaty was arranged by which O'Connor basely yielded up the independence of his country, by agreeing to hold Ireland subject to the Crown of England, and to pay tribute to its monarch. Roderick gave one of his sons as hostage for his fidelity. This treaty of "final concord" proved of little value to Henry; the Irish people continued to offer such resistance as they were able to the foreign adventurers. That resistance, owing to the selfishness of their princes, and the total want of concord and organisation, was not what it might have been. There was, too, a feeling that the invasion was a judgment of God for their sins, and especially for their share in the wicked traffic in English slaves, of whom great numbers were annually sold in Ireland by their parents and friends. This opinion was the decision of the Synod of Armagh, where it was decreed that forthwith all the English slaves in the country should be set at liberty. At Cashel, Henry convened a synod of the Irish prelates, where, in compliance with his promise to Pope Adrian, certain measures of reform were proposed. These received the approval of the synod, but its most important act was the public recognition of the claim of Henry and his heirs to the sovereignty of Ireland.

The legates  
absolve Henry

Henry did not stay long in Ireland; he had received favourable news as to the disposition of the legates, and hastened to France to meet them. Though the interview was at first unpromising, the king finally got off on very easy terms. In the Cathedral of Avranches he publicly swore that he was innocent in word and deed of the archbishop's murder. By way of atonement for his hasty words, which may have contributed to it, he agreed to keep up two hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land, and should the Pope require it, take the cross himself. He would make satisfaction to the friends and followers of the archbishop, and finally, would abolish such of the customs as should be deemed contrary to the liberties of the clergy.

His atone-  
ment, A. D.  
1175.

Council of  
Northampton,  
A. D. 1176.

At the Council of Northampton, held soon after, at which Cardinal Hugo Petroleone presided as papal legate, Henry made the following concessions:—

1. No clergyman should be arraigned before a secular judge for any crime except against the forest law, or one

connected with the service which he owed a lay lord for a lay fee.

2. That the king would not retain in his own hands any vacant see or abbey longer than a year.

3. That the murderer of a clerk should, in addition to the ordinary penalty, forfeit his inheritance for ever.

4. That no clergyman should be ever compelled to make wager of battle.

The king had hardly made his peace with the Church when troubles broke out in the bosom of his family. His wife Eleanor incited her sons to demand those territories which had been settled on them. Henry, the eldest son, had been crowned King of England; Aquitaine had been settled on Richard; Bretagne on Geoffrey; while for John, the youngest, was destined the lordship of Ireland. On being contemptuously refused the possession either of England or Normandy, Prince Henry fled to his father-in-law, King Louis, and was, in a few days after, followed by his brothers and mother. The threat of excommunication induced the queen to return, when she was immediately placed in close confinement. The sons did not return, but entered into a formidable confederacy with the Kings of France and Scotland, and the Earl of Flanders, to place Prince Henry on the throne. The king was greatly alarmed, and set at once about collecting an army of mercenaries to oppose them. A series of desultory encounters opened the war, in which, on the whole, the king had the advantage; but, during his absence, rebellion broke out everywhere in England; the Scots invaded the northern counties, and a French fleet with a formidable army waited in the harbour of Gravelines to transport Prince Henry across the Channel. The king at once returned to England. He had come to the belief that such an extraordinary combination of adverse circumstances could not be natural, that it was part of the divine chastisement for his share in the murder of the late primate. He resolved to do public penance, and on landing at Southampton, without waiting for rest or refreshment, rode at once to Canterbury. Arrived at the cathedral, and clothed in a penitent's garb, he threw himself at the foot of the martyr's tomb, where he remained absorbed in devotion while the Bishop of London addressed the spectators. On rising, the king confessed his offence, and then prepared to undergo the discipline of being scourged on the naked back with a knotted cord. Each bishop present adminis-

Rebellion of  
the king's  
sons, A. D.  
1173.

Henry does  
penance at  
the shrine of  
St. Thomas.

A. D. 1174.

tered five, and each monk three lashes. This over, he retired and spent the night in prayer, and attended early Mass next morning; after which, with cheerful air, he mounted his horse and rode to London. But the excitement or want of food threw him into a fever; but while still confined to his bed he received the news of the capture of the King of Scots by Ralph de Glanville. Henry was filled with joy, especially when he found that the event took place on the very morning he had completed his penance at the shrine of St. Thomas. He soon after made peace with his rebellious sons, all of whom besought his forgiveness and did him homage. These princes, however, did not long continue in their duty, and another formidable confederacy was formed against their father. This was dissolved by the death of Prince Henry, who, on his death-bed, expressed the greatest contrition for his disobedience, and implored his father to see him. The king feared a plot, but sent a ring as a sign of his forgiveness. The prince pressed it to his lips, confessed his sins, and then requested to be laid on a bed of ashes, in which position he received the sacraments and expired.

William of  
Scotland made  
prisoner.

Death of  
Prince Henry,  
A. D. 1133.

Richard, being now the eldest son, demanded that his claim should be recognised, and that the king's vassals should do him homage. The king returned an evasive answer, on which Richard, turning to the King of France, did him homage for Henry's continental possessions. This led to a war, in which Henry was unsuccessful, and which he was compelled to terminate by a very unfavourable treaty. He insisted, among other things, on seeing a list of those of his barons who had joined in the rebellion. It was given, but the appearance of the name of his most beloved son, John, among them, gave him such a shock that he never recovered, and was soon after seized with his mortal illness. In his delirium he was often heard to utter maledictions on his unnatural and ungrateful children. At his death all his barons at once departed, and the attendants pillaged the apartments. He was interred with little pomp in the monastery of Fontevraud.

Richard joins  
the King of  
France against  
his father.

Death of the  
king, A. D.  
1135.

His family.

Henry, by his queen, Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, had five sons, William, Henry, Richard, Geoffrey, and John; and three daughters, Matilda, Eleanor, and Joan. William, Henry, and Geoffrey died in the lifetime of their father. Matilda married Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, Eleanor married Alphonso the Good, King of Castile, and Joan, William the Second, King of Sicily.

Henry was of the middle height, of a florid complexion, and a full habit of body inclining to corpulency. He had an air of majesty and dignity, but with suitable company could assume a tone of easy affability. Beneath this exterior he concealed the vices of cruelty and falsehood through all its degrees, perjury, duplicity, hypocrisy. His passion was that of a furious madman whom it was dangerous to approach. Smarting under the humiliation of a defeat in his Welsh wars, he avenged himself on the unhappy hostages by putting out the eyes of the males and cutting off the noses of the females. He was an unfaithful husband, an unloving father, a treacherous friend, and a vindictive enemy. His energy and activity were great, and it is to these, set in motion by a spirit of greed, and guided by a cautious cunning, that served his purpose better than wisdom, that he owed the high place he holds among those monarchs who consciously contributed to the greatness of England.

His character.

#### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

- 1154. King's coronation.
- 1155. Captures the castles of turbulent barons.
- 1156. Expedition to France against Geoffrey's claims to Anjou.
- 1157. Returns to England.
- 1158-9. Expedition against Toulouse—Scutage had recourse to.
- 1162. Appointment of Chancellor Becket to See of Canterbury.
- 1164. Council of Clarendon, where were accepted the Constitutions of Clarendon.
- 1164. Becket goes into exile.
- 1166. Assize of Clarendon, which regulated administration of justice in the provinces.
- 1170. Inquest of Sheriffs.
- „ Coronation of Prince Henry.
- 1171. Visits Ireland in the Christmas of 1171.
- 1172. Returns to Normandy, and is absolved by legates.
- „ Young Henry crowned a second time with his wife (she had not been crowned the first time).
- 1173. Rebellion of Norman barons, headed by Prince Henry, aided by Lewis and the King of Scots.
- 1174. Submission of rebels.
- 1174. Assize of Northampton (a set of instructions to itinerant justices, resembling, but more severe than those of Clarendon).
- 1175. Capture and homage of William of Scotland.
- 1176. England divided into six circuits, with three itinerant justices to each.
- 1178. Appointed a judicial committee of five, two clerks, and three laymen, who were to hear all causes. This was the origin of the Court of King's Bench.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued*.

1179. Richard de Lucy, for twenty-five years Chief Justiciar, resigned.  
 1179. In Council of Windsor England was divided into four districts (instead of six), with five judges to each.  
 1180. Ralph Glanville succeeds De Lucy as Chief Justiciar.  
 1181. Assize of Arms : a statute by which the freemen of the kingdom were ordered to provide themselves with suitable arms, their liability to be determined by the oath of juries.

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL ASPECTS OF THE REIGN OF  
HENRY II.General  
character of  
the reign.

The reign of Henry II. initiates the change to modern systems of administration and judicature. It marks (1), the complete downfall of feudalism as a political power in England ; and (2), the complete fusion of Norman and Saxon races. All power was in the king's hands—political, financial, judicial. He possessed, if he did not exercise, the authority of a despot. It is in connexion with his judicial and legislative changes that his reign acquires the greatest interest.

Courts of  
justice.

In his time there existed, side by side, exercising independent and co-ordinate jurisdiction :—

1. The old Saxon Courts of the hundred and the shire.
2. The special franchises of certain lords, the successors of those Saxon thanes who possessed rights of *sac* and *soc*.
3. The manor courts of strictly feudal character, created by the Norman nobles.

It was the policy of Henry to amalgamate the remnants of the older jurisprudence with his own enactments, and to subordinate the judges of the various courts to his own servants and favourites.

Assize of  
Clarendon,  
1166.

*The Assize\* of Clarendon*.—1166 was Henry's first step in legislative reform. The main object of this assize was the regulation of criminal trials in the provinces. Of the twenty-two articles it contains the following are a few :—

That an inquest should be made before the justices and sheriffs, by the oath of twelve men of the hundred, and four men of the township, concerning offenders ; that persons arraigned by these jurors should be brought to the ordeal by water ; that bail may be received on request of the lord of the accused ; that no lord of a franchise was to interfere with the arrest of a criminal by the sheriff ; that no person out of frank-pledge was to be harboured ; that no stranger was to be lodged unless in a borough, and then only for one night ; that none of the common people should be received into a religious house without an inquiry as to their character.

Origin of  
juries.

The first of the above enactments is important as the origin of the modern Grand Jury, and as forming a main step in the growth of

\* Assize, or *assiza*, means a statute, or short code of enactments.

**Trial by Jury.** The jurors are at once witnesses and judges, and it only required severance of these two functions to reach the jury system in its modern form.

In the assize there is no mention of compurgation, or the system by which the charge against the accused was rebutted by the voluntary oaths of a certain number of his neighbours and friends. The omission is to be taken as indicating that in trials before the judges it had either been abolished or dropped into disuse.

Abolition of  
compurga-  
tion.

**Justices in Eyre.**—But it was as establishing the system of itinerant justices or justices in eyre (*itinere*), that the Assize of Clarendon exercised the widest and most lasting influence. There is evidence of an *iter*, or circuit, by king's judges, as early as the eighteenth year of Henry I., and the issue of such royal commission, or justices itinerant (*justiciarii itinerantes*), for the review of the fiscal and judicial administration of the shire was not uncommon. But it was not till the Assize of Clarendon that they were regularly established. The system was still further developed at the Council of Northampton, where the king divided the country into six districts, or "circuits," with three justices to each, that is eighteen in all. In 1179, a further change was made: the six circuits were reduced to four, and the number of judges to fifteen.

Justices  
itinerant.

**Connection between Judicial and Fiscal Administration.**—These eyres, or circuits, under the Norman kings, were all primarily designed rather for the collection of revenue than the administration of justice; but it came to be usual to combine both. Many offices had a judicial and fiscal side; the sheriff was judge of the county-court as well as the collector of the *ferm* or rent-tax of the county; the barons of the exchequer were also styled "justices," and it was from among them that the justices itinerant were chosen. So the holding of the placita, or pleas, was a large source of revenue. In the very year of the assize an eyre judicial was made by the Earl of Essex and Richard de Lacy, the Chief Justiciar, who returned with enormous sums obtained in fines from chattels of those who failed in ordeal, and from the goods of those executed under the assize.

Law and  
Revenue.

One effect of the establishment of these itinerant justices was the decay of the judicial powers of the sheriffs. In the year 1170 these officers were all removed from their offices, and a special commission composed of prelates and nobles, was appointed to inquire into their fiscal administration. A few were permanently removed, but most of them, on the payment of a fine, were reinstated. This is known as the Inquest of Sheriffs. In the reign of Richard I. the sheriffs were forbidden to act as justices in their own counties, and, by *Magna Charta*, they are forbidden to hold pleas of the crown at all.

Decay of  
Sheriffs' juris-  
diction.

Inquest of  
Sheriffs.

**King's Revenue.**—The principal heads of taxation were the following:—

- (1.) **Ferm**, tax of the county, or collected and transmitted by the sheriffs.
- (2.) **Danegeld**. This odious tax, abolished by the Confessor, was revived by the Conqueror, and retained by his successors, till Henry II., under the influence of St. Thomas à Becket, finally abandoned it.
- (3.) **Centage**, a tax on knights' fees, by way of equivalent for military service in the field.

Exchequer  
accounts

- (4.) Talliage, or *Donum burgorum*, an aid or tax levied on towns.
- (5.) Hidage, a tax levied on tenants in socage, that is, on all holding by tenure other than feudal.
- (6.) Profits on pleas, that is, on legal proceedings.
- (7.) Profits from those feudal incidents formerly specified wardship, marriage, relief, &c.

**King's Court.** *Curia Regis, or King's Court.*—The term *Curia Regis* acquired different meanings at different stages, which it is necessary to discriminate :—

1. It denoted the great council of the nation : the feudal successor to the Witanagemot, composed of the king, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants in chief.

2. From this assembly, too unwieldy for judicial functions, and which met but rarely, the term came to be applied to the smaller body, composed of the chief officers of the king's household, the justiciar, chancellor, treasurer, and barons of the exchequer. The judicial business of this body chiefly devolved on the justiciar and the barons of the exchequer, who, as already stated, were also kings' justices.

3. In 1178, Henry set apart from this body a special committee of five, who were to have charge of the whole judicial business of the *curia*.

Origin of the Court of Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Pleas.

Of these three stages (1) was the germ of our modern parliament, or more accurately, of our House of Lords ; (2) of the Court of Exchequer ; and (3) of the Court of Queen's Bench. The five judges of (3) are supposed to be those of whom Glanville speaks as *justicarii sedentes in banco*, or justices of the bench.

The exact time at which the Court of Common Pleas became detached from the *curia* is not known, but the 17th article of *Magna Charta* directs that the Court of Common Pleas shall not follow the king's court, but be fixed in some certain place.

*The King's Council*, or king in council, was a tribunal of higher rank than the *Curia Regis*. Before it were only brought matters of special difficulty or importance. The council was in the main composed of the same officers as the *Curia Regis*. The king occasionally presided, but in his absence the presidency devolved on the chancellor. Out of this council sprang (1) the equitable jurisdiction of the Lord Chancellor ; and (2), that of our modern Privy Council. When the king's council superseded the *curia*, the chancellor, as its president, emerges as first officer in the state.

*Officers of the Royal Household.*—The highest office under the Crown was that of Chief Justiciar. The functions of the office without the title were discharged by Wm. Fitzosbern and Bishop Odo, who acted as regents in the Conqueror's absence. Later on in the same reign, William de Warenne and Richard Benefacta acted as regents, and so as justiciars.

Under Rufus, his uncle, Bishop Odo, and the Bishop of Durham filled the office. To them succeeded Ralph Flambard, but still apparently without the name. The first who joined to the duties the title of justiciar was Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, who is known as the founder of the Exchequer administration.

*The Chancellor* was at first subordinate to the justiciary. The name is derived from the *cancelle*, or screen, behind which the chan-

cellor and his clerks sat. The chancellor applied the royal seal to writs and state documents; he had charge of the king's accounts, subject to the justiciar, and was head of the body of royal chaplains.

*The Treasurer* had charge of the king's treasures, preserved at Winchester; he was an officer of the Exchequer, and revised the accounts of the sheriffs.

*The Chamberlain* had judicial and financial duties. In the former capacity he stood next the justiciar himself.

Besides these there were the high-steward, the constable, and the marshal, offices which soon became hereditary. The functions of the two latter had reference to the army, and were very similar.

*Henry II.'s Military System.*—We have seen the great innovation of scutage introduced in this reign. This led to the rapid decay of feudalism as a military organisation. All Henry's wars were carried on by mercenaries. Once only, in 1177, when he collected a great army at Portsmouth, did he raise it on the feudal plan. He took, however, one very important step towards the military organisation of after times in his Assize of Arms, in which he directs every freeman to procure the arms specified for his rank; the status of each person, and so his obligations, to be decided before the justices, on the oaths of twelve lawful men of the hundred.

Assize of Arms.

## RICHARD I.—1189-1199.

### CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	King of France.	King of Scotland.	King of Spain.	Popes.
Frederick I., 1190. Henry VI., 1197. Philip	Philip Augustus.	William.	Alphonso IX.	Clement III., 1191. Celestin III., 1198. Innocent III.

The remorse which Richard displayed on beholding the dead body of his father did much to remove the impression of which his undutiful conduct towards him during life had created. That his altered feeling was more than a passing emotion seemed proved by his dismissal of his own councillors in favour of those ministers of his father's, whose loyalty and constancy had been proved even against himself and his rebellious brothers. One of his first acts was to release his mother, Queen Eleanor, and appoint her regent, during his detention on the Continent, by negotiations with Philip of France. Eleanor exercised her office with great wisdom and popularity; in her progress through the kingdom she distributed alms, released prisoners, pardoned offenders, and especially mitigated the severity of the forest-courts. On the arrival of Richard, all was pre-

Richard constitutes his father's ministers in power.

Queen Eleanor regent.



**Battle of Tiberias, and loss at Jerusalem, A. D. 1189.**

pared for his coronation, which took place at Westminster, with imposing splendour, on 3rd September, 1189. The ceremony over, the new king bent all his thoughts to the one project that had preoccupied his mind for some time—an expedition to the Holy Land. The battle of Tiberias had lost the Christians the towns of Acre, Sidon, Ascalon; and Jerusalem itself had been captured by the famous Saladdin, Sultan of Egypt and Aleppo.

**Richard prepares for a new crusade.**

The loss of the holy city filled Christendom with dismay; it stimulated Richard with an unquenchable desire to wrest it from its captors, and to avenge on the infidels the sufferings and humiliations of the Christians. Having rapidly discharged the most pressing duties, he appointed as joint regents his Chancellor, William Longchamps, Bishop of Ely, and the Chief Justiciary, Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham. Money, however, was wanted, and though the king found in the royal treasury 100,000 marks, he deemed it insufficient, and supplemented it by expedients as ruinous

**His mode of raising money**

as they were disgraceful. He extorted, under the name of presents, immense sums from the bishops and higher clergy; he sold to the King of Scots the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, and all the rights of supremacy extorted from that monarch as the price of his liberty in the previous reign; he imprisoned some of the most eminent men in the kingdom, in order to compel them to exorbitant ransoms; he set up for public sale not only the demesne lands of the Crown, but also all offices and honours in its gift.

**Massacre of the Jews.**

Another circumstance that stained the opening of this reign was the massacre of the greater part of the Jews resident in the kingdom. These people were then the only bankers; and, as there was no legal limit to interest, they added the odium of usury to that of race and religion. Knowing the feelings of the people, they naturally desired to secure the protection of the Sovereign, and with that view hastened to London with rich presents for Richard's coronation. The king, however, for some reason, did not wish their attendance, and issued a proclamation forbidding their presence at the ceremony. A few, however, disregarded the prohibition; they were detected, hustled out of the palace, and murdered by the mob outside. The example was contagious, the cry was got up that the king ordered every Jew to be slain, and the supposed command was too faithfully executed. In York the tragedy reached its

climax in magnitude and horror. Hunted by the citizens, the unhappy Israelites, to the number of five hundred men, besides women and children, took refuge in the castle. It chanced that the governor went out one day, and the fugitives, suspecting treachery, refused to readmit him. On this the castle was at once surrounded, and though the Jews offered a considerable ransom it was rejected. Become desperate, they then took a terrible resolution which would disappoint the hate and cupidity of their enemies: they buried their treasures, then cut the throats of their wives and children, and put an end to their own lives by stabbing each other.

After some four months spent in England, Richard started for the Continent. About the Easter of 1190, he met Philip on the plains of Vezelac, whence a pilgrim army of 100,000 men marched under their joint banners for the new crusade. They separated at Lyons, Richard going to Marseilles and Philip to Genoa. Richard's fleet had been detained at Lisbon to assist in the defence of Santarem against the Mahomedans, but the Portuguese found their new allies scarcely less to be dreaded than the infidels themselves. The impetuous Richard did not wait the arrival of his fleet; with such transports as he could collect he sailed with his army to the port of Messina, in Sicily, where Philip joined him two days later. William, the late king of the island, who had married Joan, Richard's sister, had left her a splendid dower as well as presents of immense value destined for presentation to Henry II., when, as a crusader, he should reach the kingdom of his son-in-law on his way to the Holy Land. All these Tancred, the present king, detained, and Richard at once demanded their restoration or an equivalent. Attempt at negotiation was prevented by a sudden affray which precipitated a conflict between Richard's troops and the Sicilians, in which the latter were completely defeated. Tancred saw that compliance was necessary, he liberated Queen Joan, and paid Richard forty thousand ounces of gold in compensation for the dower and legacies. This was accepted, and Richard concluded the settlement by betrothing his nephew Arthur, son of Geoffrey, Duke of Bretagne, to the infant daughter of Tancred, on the condition that should the marriage not take place half the money received should be returned to Tancred or his heirs.

Richard, to whom Adelais, the sister of Philip, had long

Meeting of  
Richard and  
Philip at Ve-  
zelac.

The king of  
England em-  
barks for  
Marseilles.

His dealings  
with Tancred,  
King of Sicily.

Punishment  
of Isaac, Em-  
peror of  
Cyprus.

been affianced, refused for certain reasons to complete the contract by marriage. Philip agreed to liberate him from his engagement on the promise to pay ten thousand marks, in five yearly instalments, and to restore the strong places which formed part of her marriage portion. Richard soon after married Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, King of Arragon. In company with the king's sister, Joan, she accompanied the expedition. On leaving Sicily the English fleet was dispersed by a storm, and some driven on the coast of Cyprus. Richard directed his course to the harbour of Lymesol, where he found the vessel containing Berengaria and Joan. Cyprus at this time was ruled by Isaac, who styled himself emperor. He was a pompous tyrant who plundered alike Christian and infidel who fell into his hands. Richard had heard that two of his ships, which had been wrecked on the island, had their contents plundered and their crews imprisoned. For this he demanded reparation and was met with a stern refusal. A short war was the result; Richard forced his way through the Cyprian galleys, put to flight the troops which lined the coast, and took possession of the port town of Lymesol. Isaac sued for peace, but after accepting Richard's terms again departed from them to try once more the fortune of battle. He was again defeated—the town of Meosia was taken, and his daughter, whom he tenderly loved, was among the captives. In utter dejection he cast himself at his conqueror's feet; but Richard ordered him to be bound in silver chains, and confined in a castle on the borders of Palestine. At Lymesol the nuptials of Richard and Berengaria were solemnized. While the King of England was thus diverted by minor and somewhat selfish issues, the siege of Acre proceeded slowly and stubbornly. It had already lasted two years; and beneath the walls had perished in one year, one hundred and twenty thousand crusaders, among them six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, and five hundred barons. The arrival of Philip diffused hope among the besiegers, but all blamed the tardiness of Richard, whose absence delayed the grand assault. He soon after arrived at the camp, where he was welcomed with acclamation. His arrival was marked by such new energy on the part of the besiegers that the besieged obtained leave from Saladdin to treat for terms. These were that Acre should be surrendered, and that the Turks should deliver up the Holy Cross and release fifteen hundred

Christian prisoners. The crusaders detained some five thousand Turks as hostages for the fulfilment of these conditions. Saladdin continually postponed the performance of this agreement, and Richard, irritated with his evasive pretexts, warned him that his conduct would be avenged on the heads of the hostages. While the minds of the crusaders were in this irritable and dangerous mood, a report was spread through the camp that the Turks had butchered their Christian prisoners. An immediate cry for retaliatory vengeance arose, and on the following day the hostages, to the number of two thousand seven hundred, were led to the top of a hill and there, in the presence of the Turkish camp, were deliberately massacred. An equal number were despatched on the walls of the city, by the Duke of Burgundy and his French. This atrocious act left an indelible stain on the chiefs of the crusade.

Surrender  
of Acre to the  
Crusaders,  
A. D. 1191.

Massacre of  
the hostages.

A marked jealousy had long existed between Richard and Philip, and the latter for this reason, though nominally on the plea of ill health, resolved to return home. His resolution filled the army with dismay, but no entreaties could alter it. This left Richard first in rank as in valour among all who remained. On the fall of Acre, Christendom looked for the speedy capture of Jerusalem, but Richard had secretly perceived that the thing was impossible with his diminished and exhausted forces. He won some brilliant victories in which his personal prowess shone with surpassing splendour; but after marching in sight of Jerusalem, he returned to Acre, amidst much murmuring on the part of his companions and followers. His last exploit was to raise the siege of Jaffa, after which he concluded a three years' truce with Saladdin. The conditions were that Christians should have access to the holy places, and in return that Ascalon should be razed to the ground.

Coolness be-  
tween  
Richard and  
Philip; latter  
returns home.

Richard,  
after march-  
ing within  
sight of Jeru-  
salem, re-  
treats.

Richard determined to return secretly through Austria and Germany; but a rich jewel, sent as a present to a local chieftain, attracting suspicion, the messenger was put to torture till he disclosed the name and rank of his master. The house was surrounded, and Richard found himself the prisoner of Leopold, Duke of Austria, whom he had mortally offended in Palestine. After spending some time in the castle of Tyerusteign, he was sold for the sum of sixty thousand pounds to Henry, Emperor of Germany.

On his re-  
turn he is  
made pri-  
soner by Duke  
Leopold of  
Austria, who  
sells him to  
the Emperor.

In England the rule of Longchamps had for a long time

been despotic. His severity or his pride had, however, raised up a number of powerful enemies, at whose head was Prince John, now watching to avail himself of any favourable turn of events. The chancellor had secret directions, in case of the death of Richard abroad, to join the King of Scots in favour of Arthur, the king's nephew, son of his brother Geoffrey. This was quite sufficient to explain John's action to remove him from the office of regent. Hitherto the fate of its king was unknown in England, but the copy of a letter from the Emperor Henry to Louis disclosed the secret. Public indignation was powerfully excited. Pope Celestin excommunicated Leopold, and placed an interdict on his dominions, and threatened Henry with similar penalties if he did not at once release his captive. Richard was formally accused before the diet of the empire, among other things of his treatment of Tancred and Isaac; but his frank and manly defence won the suffrages of his judges, and softened the emperor himself, who intimated his readiness to discuss the amount of his ransom. In spite of the tempting offers of Philip and John, who agreed to pay the emperor twenty thousand pounds for every additional month's imprisonment, Henry agreed to give him his liberty for the sum of one hundred thousand marks. Of this, twenty thousand were paid at once, and hostages delivered for the remainder. By the advice of his mother, Richard resigned his crown into the hands of the emperor, and received it back to be held as a fief of the empire.

Richard is  
ransomed.

On regaining his liberty the king's first thought was to chastise the King of France. For this, money was wanted, and on the king's return the old expedients were had recourse to. The war with France was long and uneventful; the most memorable incident was the fall of a bridge over the Epte, as the French were retreating over it to the fortress of Gisors. Philip fell into the river and was with difficulty extricated, and Richard was able to boast that he made the King of France drink of the waters of the Epte. Among the prisoners taken by Richard at this time was the Bishop of Beauvais, formerly ambassador from Philip to the court of the emperor. To his ill offices Richard ascribed the chains with which he was loaded, as well as other indignities and severities. The bishop who, indeed, was more of a baron than a bishop, sought the interposition of the pope. In reply he received a severe censure for

Disastrous  
war with  
Philip.

departing from his spiritual functions to mix in secular affairs; but his Holiness promised to write to Richard on his behalf, not as pontiff but as a friend. In his letter to the king the pope besought him "to pity his dear son the Bishop of Beauvais." Richard replied by sending to Rome the bishop's coat of mail, with a scroll attached, "Look if this be thy son's coat or not." The Pope, on seeing it laughed, adding: "No, indeed, this is the coat of Mars; let Mars deliver him, if he can."

The Bishop  
of Beauvais.

From the time of Richard's restoration to his kingdom he seems to have regarded it in no other light than as a source of revenue. His justiciary's chief duty was to extract as much money as possible for the royal exchequer. The expedients to which the king had recourse shocked every sense of decency and justice. (1) The offices and crown-lands which he had sold before setting out for Palestine, were resumed on his return, on the ground that the purchase-money had long been repaid by the profits; (2) tournaments introduced during the reign of Stephen, but suppressed by Henry II., were revived by Richard, ostensibly to improve the youth in the use of arms, really as a means of raising money by levying a tax on those permitted to engage in them; (3) a more singular and impudent device remained—the great seal was broken and a new one made, on which a proclamation was issued, that all grants by the former were henceforth invalid, so that the owners of such grants were obliged to apply at the chancellor's office and pay their fees a second time; (4) the king next saw a means to turn the massacre of the Jews to account: as their representative, he directed the itinerant justices to exact fines from their murderers, and the payment of all debts due to them from their debtors.

New expedients  
for raising  
money.

This inordinate desire of wealth ultimately cost the king his life. Vidomar, Viscount of Limoges, one of his vassals, was reported to have found treasure-trove in his domain, part of which he offered to the king. Richard insisted on the whole, and immediately laid siege to Vidomar's castle of Chalus. During the siege he was struck by an arrow, shot by a youth named Bertrand de Gourdon, and the wound in a few days proved mortal. The castle was taken, and all within it, except Gourdon, were at once hanged. When Richard learned he was dying, he ordered Gourdon before him, and asked, "What have I done to draw this vengeance from thy arm?" The youth replied: "You slew my father

Siege of  
Castle of  
Chalus and  
death of the  
king, 1199.

and brothers with your own arm; for me you intended a like fate; take now what vengeance you will." The king was struck with the answer, gave Gourdon one hundred shillings, and ordered him to be set at liberty. But Marchadee, the commander of the king's ferocious Brabanters, secretly detained him and had him flayed alive. The king died repentant, in the tenth year of his reign, and forty-second of his age. He directed his body to be interred with his father at Fontevraud, but his heart he bequeathed to Rouen.

Character.

The epithet *Cœur de Leon*, or lion-hearted, summed up truly his character with his coteremporaries. When due credit is given for enormous physical strength, a mind incapable of fear, fitful impulses of generosity and magnanimity, Richard's claims to admiration are enumerated. On the other hand, he was faithless, capricious, cruel, and avaricious. He displayed neither the ability of a general nor a statesman, while the interest he took in the welfare of his subjects may be inferred from the fact, that of the ten years of his reign but four months were spent in England. His wife, Berengaria, survived him; but he left no legitimate issue.

JOHN, 1119-1216.

*Surnamed Sansterre, or Lackland.*

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	King of France.	Kings of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Philip, 1208. Otho V.	Philip Augustus	William, 1214. Alexander.	Alphonso IX. Henry I.	Innocent III., 1216. Honorius III.

During the early part of his reign Richard treated his nephew Arthur as heir-apparent and inasmuch as he was the son of his next brother, Geoffrey, he therein complied with the strict law of inheritance. On his death-bed, however, he changed his mind, and nominated his brother John, then known as Earl Mortain, his successor. This prince, after a brief interval, devoted to the decencies of grief, hastened to Chinon, and took possession of the royal treasures. Normandy readily accepted him as its Duke, but Maine, Anjou, and Touraine preferred the claims of

John to be  
succeeded  
in his kingdom

Arthur. Furious at their defection, John razed Le-Mans to the ground, while his mercenaries laid waste Anjou, and burned Angers. Philip now came to the rescue of the oppressed Angevins, and John was compelled to confine his attention to England. Thither he sent Hubert Fitzwalter, the primate, and Geoffrey Fitzpetre, the chief justiciary, both distinguished equally for their ability and high character. His chief aim was to conciliate the barons, and dispel the fears, of those who had shared in his forfeited estates, after his late rebellion. Some doubts existed in the country as to the death of Richard, and this delayed the coronation till Ascension Day, when the ceremony was performed by the primate. In his sermon he made the important declaration that the crown was elective within the circle of the royal family, adding that in John they had one who by his courage, sagacity, and birth was the most fit to reign.

Archbishop  
Hubert de-  
clares the  
English crown  
elective.

One of the king's first acts was to reward those who had facilitated his accession. William Mareschal became Earl of Pembroke; Archbishop Hubert became Chancellor; and Justiciar Fitzpetre was created Earl of Essex.

Philip, under the pretence of sustaining the claims of Arthur, departed from the truce made with Richard, and commenced hostilities. John passed over to Normandy, where he was joined by the Earl of Flanders, and a great number of nobles. A truce of six weeks was, however, agreed on, and on its expiration the two monarchs had an interview at Boulavant. At this meeting Philip complained that John had not yet done homage for Normandy. He demanded for Arthur all the English possessions in France, except Normandy. At a second conference the truce was prolonged and became a peace. Philip acknowledged John as right heir of his brother Richard, and induced Arthur to do homage to his uncle for his duchy of Bretagne. John, in return, paid a "relief" of twenty thousand marks and surrendered some border fiefs. These were by way of dowry for his niece, Blanche of Castile, soon after married to Lewis, son of Philip.

Truce ending  
a peace with  
France, A. D.  
1200.

Philip at this time was engaged in a quarrel with the Pope for putting away, on the morrow of her marriage, his second wife Ingelburga, sister of the King of Denmark. The princess, refusing to return home in disgrace, was confined in a convent; and Philip, having obtained a divorce from the Archbishop of Rheims, took to himself another

Philip's quar-  
rel with Pope  
Innocent.



wife, Agnes, daughter of the Duke of Moravia. These proceedings coming to the ears of Pope Innocent, he at once annulled the divorce, and laid the kingdom of France under interdict till the king should take back Ingelburga. It had the desired effect; Philip put away Agnes, and took back Ingelburga, whom he acknowledged as his lawful wife.

John divorces his first wife and marries Isabella of Angouleme.

About the same time John took a similar step. On the ground of consanguinity he obtained a divorce from his first wife, the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester. He then sought the hand of the princess of Portugal; but before his envoys to that court had returned, the king had seen and become enamoured of Isabella, daughter of the Count of Angouleme, but who had been already betrothed to the Count de la Marche. The royal suitor was accepted by father and daughter, and Isabella became Queen of England. The Count de la Marche proceeded to hostilities against his suzerain, but he got no assistance from Philip, and was soon crushed.

A. D. 1200.

William of Scotland does homage to John at Lincoln.

In November, 1200, John received the homage of William of Scotland, who had come with a grand escort to Lincoln. To his request, that the three northern counties should be delivered to him, John replied evasively, requesting some months for consideration.

A. D. 1201.

In the following spring, John paid a visit to Philip at Paris, where he was received with the highest distinction and the warmest cordiality; but he was soon called south by a revolt in Aquitaine and Poitou. This revolt gave Philip the desired pretext for interference; the barons of the revolted provinces appealed to him against the tyranny of his vassal, the King of England. In reply to this appeal, Philip accordingly summoned John to answer for his conduct before him at Paris, a summons which, however, John disdained to obey. He was then tried before the court, and declared to have forfeited all his fiefs in France. War followed; Philip entered Normandy, and young Arthur, at the head of two hundred knights, entered Poitou. Here he laid siege to the castle of Mirabeau, in the hope of seizing the person of his grandmother, Eleanor; but the king, informed of his mother's situation, flew to the rescue, defeated the band of Arthur, and took himself prisoner. John confined his nephew in the castle of Rouen, after which the young prince was never heard of. The universal belief was that he was murdered, and report had

Murder of Arthur.

it that the foul deed was done by his uncle's own hand. Eleanor, the maid of Bretagne, sister of Arthur, was sent by John to England, to prevent her from marrying without his consent. She was otherwise well-treated by her uncle. A. D. 1202.

The murder of Arthur, their duke, roused the vengeance of the Bretons, who called upon Philip, as their suzerain, to do them justice. Philip complied, and in a great council of peers, John was declared a traitor and enemy to the crown of France; and it was decreed that he had forfeited all the lands he held by homage, and that re-entry should be made on them by force of arms. Bretons apply to Philip, who declares John's forfeit of all his French possessions.

French and Breton armies entered Normandy from opposite sides, and overran it without opposition. John all the while looked on supinely from Rouen, complacently remarking, that what his enemies took in a year he would regain in a day. Many of the commanders of fortresses surrendered at once to Philip; the only place that offered any stubborn resistance to the French was Chateau Gaillard. This famous fortress was the work of Richard, who was so pleased with his success that he used playfully to call it his child. The siege of Castle Gaillard detained Philip seven months, and its capture was deemed one of the greatest military achievements of the age. The defence was conducted by Roger de Lacy, whose valour John acknowledged by paying his ransom of a thousand marks. French and Breton armies reduce Normandy, which, by the fall of Castle Gaillard, becomes annexed to France. A. D. 1204.

The fall of this fortress decided the fate of Normandy; Rouen, its capital, submitted, and by midsummer of the year 1204, the whole province had done homage to the King of France, two hundred and ninety years after it had first severed from the monarchy. The loss of Normandy was followed by the submission of Maine, Touraine, Anjou, and Poitou. Revolt in the South. A. D. 1204.

In 1205, John collected a large force for embarkation at Portsmouth; but when all was ready, a council was held, which decided that only a part of the force should embark, and the rest should procure exemption by money payment. The king himself put to sea, but after a few days returned, and the expedition ingloriously collapsed.

In the following year, however, John did land an army in France, near Rochelle. His first operations were fortunate, the fortress of Montauban, which had detained Charlemagne seven years, was captured by John in fifteen days, as he was proud to relate. He advanced, wasting Anjou

with fire and sword, till informed that Philip, at the head of a large army, had entered Aquitaine. John at first seemed resolved on a battle, but on seeing the army of Philip he slunk back to Rochelle, and through the mediation of the papal legate a truce of two years was agreed on. In this treaty John acknowledged the *status quo*, thereby abandoning for the time all claim to any land north of the Loire, as well as to great part of Aquitaine and Poitou.

A. D. 1206.

John, on his return to England, summoned an assembly of prelates and barons, from whom he demanded, and by threats obtained, a grant of a thirteenth for the recovery of his inheritance in France. His brother Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, alone dared to refuse; he excommunicated the king's officers who should attempt to collect it within his diocese, after which he fled beyond seas, and never returned to England.

Election to  
the See of  
Canterbury.

But a more serious trouble was now brewing for the king. The death of Archbishop Hubert, in 1205, had left the see of Canterbury vacant. As soon as the fact became known, the junior portion of the monks of Christ Church met secretly in the night and elected their sub-prior, Reginald, to the archiepiscopal dignity. Reginald was then sent to Rome to obtain the pope's confirmation of his election, but before setting out the strictest silence was enjoined on him as to the object of his mission. But, whether from vanity or some other cause, the nature of his errand was divulged, on which the bishops of the province, who claimed at least a concurrent right with the monks in the election of their metropolitan, sent a deputation to the Pope protesting against the election of Reginald, as made without their knowledge and participation. But the king had his own candidate John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich; and, after having induced the bishops to sign an instrument withdrawing their claims to take part in the election, he easily procured from the brotherhood at Canterbury the adoption of his favourite. Messengers were at once sent to Rome, and with six monks empowered to act for the whole body. The pope, after due examination of the representations of both deputations, annulled both elections, that of Reginald as uncanonical and secret; that of the bishop of Norwich as premature, having been made before a competent authority had set aside that of Reginald. The monks present were then invited to proceed to the election

of an archbishop, and the Pope recommended to them Stephen Langton, an Englishman then in Rome, whose abilities and virtues had raised him to the rectorship of the University of Paris and to a seat in the sacred college. To this the members of the king's deputation objected, on which the Pope at once ordered them to accept the candidate he had named, which they accordingly did, and the new archbishop was consecrated by the Pope himself.

As soon as the king heard of the Pope's appointment he became furious. The monks of Canterbury were the first objects of his vengeance; they were driven from their convent, and their lands seized to the Crown. Pope Innocent, to soothe the natural irritation of the king at the rejection of his candidate, wrote in a very friendly strain, strongly recommending the new archbishop. To no purpose, however: John had sworn that the Pope's nominee should never land in England as primate.

The Pope saw that strong measures had now become necessary, and determined to lay the kingdom under an interdict. The publication of it was committed to the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester. They had vainly besought the king to yield before it was too late; but he replied by ordering that the property of all who obeyed the interdict should be seized to the royal use.

The Interdict, A. D. 1208.

On the appointed day the prelates discharged their awful function and immediately fled the kingdom. From that time no church-bell tolled, no public service was performed, no sacraments were administered, except to infants and the dying; the churches were all closed, and the dead were buried in unconsecrated ground. Amidst the universal gloom the king affected indifference, and solaced himself by seizing into his own hands the lands of the clergy, both secular and regular.

The conduct of William, King of Scotland, at this time excited the suspicions of John, who at once marched an army northward, as far as Norham. There he was met by William, who delivered his two daughters into the hands of the English king to be disposed of in marriage as he should think fit; and further agreed to pay fifteen thousand marks in five years. The performance of this condition was secured by hostages from the best families in Scotland. The king next visited Ireland, where, after reducing the turbulent barons of the Pale, who were making war on each other, he divided the territories into counties, estab-

The king visits Ireland, 1212.

lished English laws among the settlers, and directed the use of the same currency as in the mother country. Leaving his favourite, the Bishop of Norwich, in charge of the Government, he returned with his army to England. His next enterprise was an invasion of Wales, in which he was equally fortunate. Lewellyn submitted and gave hostages for his peaceful behaviour in the future.

The king  
excommunicated, 1209.

After the interdict had lasted a year without subduing the king's obstinacy, the Pope issued against him sentence of excommunication; but such good watch was kept at the various ports, that it could not be published and he was informed that without publication in England it was of no effect. What he feared most was the sentence of deposition, which he knew would ultimately follow. His unpopularity at home and the hostility of Philip were likely to make the sentence more than a dead letter. After four years of the interdict had elapsed the Pope took the final step, and absolved John's vassals from their oaths of fealty, and exhorted Christian princes to assist in his dethronement.

John was now thoroughly frightened; a French army had assembled at the mouth of the Seine, and there was reason to believe that many in England were prepared to co-operate with them. The king at length sent a deputation to the Pope to tender his acceptance of those terms he had formerly rejected. The Pope deputed Pandulph with instructions to receive the king's submission. Meantime, John busied himself in collecting a fleet and army to repel the threatened invasion, returned to England, threatening vengeance against the traitors who had deserted their king. Meantime, the barons had held an assembly at St. Alban's, in which Fitzpetre, the chief justiciary, presided. Here it was ordered that the laws of Henry I. should be observed, and all unjust laws utterly abolished. Forest rangers, sheriffs, and other royal officers, were also commanded, under penalty of death or mutilation, to abstain from all acts of extortion and oppression.

John had now collected another army and had marched as far as Nottingham to punish his refractory barons, when he was met by the primate, who threatened to excommunicate every person, except the king himself, who should take part in the war. This threat succeeded; and the king was content to name a day for the appearance of his barons in court to justify their conduct. About three weeks after this the prelates and barons held another

meeting in the church of St. Paul's, London, where the cardinal primate read aloud the charter of Henry I., exhorting his hearers to insist on the restoration of the rights and liberties contained in it. On perceiving the growing resistance of the barons, John had despatched messengers to the Pope, who sent as his legate to England Nicholas, the Cardinal Archbishop of Tusculum, to arrange matters and remove the interdict. John resolved to secure the legate's favour, and not only renewed to him the oath of fealty, which he had already taken to Pandulph, but did him homage as representative of his lord the Pope, and paid into his hands a thousand marks as his rent for the current year. The legate's influence was all used on the side of the king.

John was at Dover when the legate arrived, and laid before him the Pope's conditions. These were the admission of Archbishop Langton to his see, the restoration of all exiles to their lands and rights, the restitution of the property of the clergy, and the pardon of all suffering imprisonment or outlawry because of their obedience to the Pope throughout the quarrel. After some hesitation the king signed, and four barons guaranteed his observance of the terms. This was on the 13th of May, 1213. Two days after the king took a strange step, but one apparently quite voluntary. In the church of the Templars, and surrounded by prelates, barons, and knights, he handed to Pandulph a charter signed by himself, one archbishop, one bishop, nine earls, and three barons, in which, in atonement for his offences against God and the Church, he surrendered to Pope Innocent and his lawful successors his kingdoms of England and Ireland, to be holden by himself and heirs of the Bishop of Rome in fee, by an annual rent of a thousand marks, but reserving to himself and heirs all royal rights. He then took the oath of fealty, such as vassals regularly took to their lords.

John swears  
fealty to the  
Pope.

Philip, on learning John's reconciliation, flew into a rage and vowed he would still prosecute the invasion. On this Ferrand, Earl of Flanders (a secret friend of John's), exclaimed that he would not follow him in such an unjust enterprise. This announcement diverted the anger of Philip, who declared that either France must conquer Flanders, or Flanders conquer France. The threat was no vain one; a French army, after reducing Cassel, Ypres, and Bruges, laid siege to Ghent. An English fleet, which

sailed to the assistance of the Flemings, captured or destroyed a French fleet of far greater strength.

John now thought that, after so complete a submission, his barons would return to their obedience and readily respond to his command. He summoned a large army to meet at Portsmouth, but on his arrival the nobles informed him that their means were exhausted, and that they would not embark without payment from the royal treasury. The king himself set sail and reached the island of Jersey, but finding that not one of his barons followed, he returned.

Early in 1214, the English king landed an army at Rochelle. At Angers he met the papal envoys who, after receiving the king's oath to abide by the Pope's award, hastened to England and removed the interdict, after it had continued for more than six years. From Angers John moved north towards Bretagne, but was stopped by the appearance of a French army, under the command of Prince Louis. On the side of Flanders lay a powerful army of allies, composed of an English army under the Earl of Salisbury, the forces of Otho, Emperor of Germany, the Earl of Flanders, the Earl of Boulogne, and other powerful princes and barons, forming an aggregate of more than a hundred thousand men. To meet this host Philip had scarcely fifty thousand men, but their skill and courage more than supplied the place of numbers. The opposing armies met at Bouvines, a small village between Lille and Tournay. The result was a brilliant victory for the French; many of the allied leaders were made prisoners, among them Philip's enemy, the Earl of Flanders, and the Earls of Boulogne and Salisbury. The Emperor Otho, whose personal exploits were only rivalled by those of Philip himself, escaped to Brunswick. This battle gave the death-blow to John's hopes of regaining his French provinces.

Battle of  
Bouvines,  
A. D. 1214.

The king returned from his inglorious campaign to find the league of his barons firmer than ever. At the feast of St. Edmund, 20th November, 1214, they met by appointment at St. Edmundsbury, and in the abbey church, after having well considered and agreed on the liberties they were to demand, each member of the assembly, in the order of seniority, ascended the altar and took an oath to withdraw his fealty from the king and levy war on him, should he reject the claims of the confederates. These claims were submitted to the king on the 6th of January,

Barons meet  
at St. Ed-  
mundsbury,  
1214.

1215. The king at first tried to intimidate them, but finding them proof to his threats, he promised to give them an answer by Easter. This was hesitatingly accepted.

In Easter week, accordingly, the barons met at Stamford to the number of two thousand knights, with large bodies of armed retainers. The king, who lay at Oxford, deputed the primate and Earl of Pembroke to know their wishes. The barons delivered their petition with the intimation, that unless the articles contained in it were at once granted under the royal seal, they should proceed to compel the king's assent by force. John, when he had read the articles, exclaimed: "Why do they not demand my crown?" Then, with an oath, he added: "I will not grant liberty to them that will make myself a slave." The confederates, on receiving this reply, appointed as their general Robert Fitzwalter, and styled themselves the army of God and holy Church. War was now declared. The barons issued proclamations threatening to treat as enemies all who did not join them, and their cause was powerfully strengthened by the city of London, which opened its gates to them. John now resolved to yield, and asked the barons to name a day and place for the granting of those liberties they sought. They replied, "Let the day be the 15th of June, the place Runnymede."

Meeting at  
Runnymede,  
1215.

On the appointed day both parties appeared. Beside the king stood the primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, Pandulph, six bishops, and a few gentlemen, on the other side were the barons, headed by their general, Fitzwalter. After brief debate and slight modifications, the charter, containing the demands of the barons, was subscribed by the king. The instrument became known as Magna Charta, or the Great Charter.\* Its grant is the first great landmark of constitutional progress.

Magna  
Charta.

By way of security for the king's observance of the charter, it was stipulated that all foreign knights should quit the kingdom; that the barons should hold London, and the primate the Tower, for two months; and that a committee of twenty-five barons should have power to decide all claims under the charter, and the right to

\* An account of Magna Charta is reserved to the end of the following reign.



command, by oath, the obedience of all freemen; and even to obtain a royal order for the purpose if necessary.

But, though John had signed the charter, he did not intend to do more than gain time. On the very eve of Runnymede he sent word to the foreign knights, who held his castles, to lay in provisions and otherwise prepare for resistance. Emissaries were sent to the Continent to invite those Brabanters and other soldiers of fortune who at this time were willing to follow any standard which held out the hope of sufficient booty. Finally, the king sent messengers to the Pope, who annulled the charter, suspended Archbishop Langton, and excommunicated the committee of twenty-five. Meantime, John had gradually collected an army with which he marched to Nottingham, destroying everywhere the property of his enemies. The barons had made no preparations whatever to meet this attack of the king, and in desperation they were compelled to apply to Louis, son of Philip, who, in defiance of the prohibition of the papal legate, sailed up the Thames and entered London, where he was received with acclamations by the confederates. Louis immediately overran the eastern counties, but could make no impression on the castles of Dover or Windsor. John now took the field; but, without venturing to meet the army of Louis, he spread ruin and terror through the lands of the barons. Some of the latter, too, began to doubt the designs of the French prince, who had already evoked much jealousy by his grants to his own followers. It was further stated by Robert de Melun, a French baron, that Louis had sworn before sixteen of his chief barons, of whom he himself was one, that when he had obtained possession of the English crown, he would banish for ever those English barons who had joined his standard, as being traitors to their own rightful sovereign. This threw doubt and suspicion over the minds of the confederates, who now mostly contented themselves by waiting the issue of events. John's activity had been great, he moved rapidly from place to place, pillaging and burning the lands and houses of his rebellious nobles. Having reached Lynn, in Norfolk, where he was loyally received, he sought to pass through the estuary of the Wash, over to Lincolnshire: a thing possible enough when the tide was out. The army began its march over the sands, and had just reached the other side, in safety; but the returning tide caught the

Louis of  
France in-  
vited over.

long train of baggage waggons containing the king's treasures, and in a short time they disappeared beneath the swelling waters. This loss, added to his other troubles, threw the king into a fever from which he expired at Newark Castle, October 19, 1216, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and the forty-ninth of his age.

Loss of the  
King's bag-  
gage.

His death.  
1216.

Of the character of this king there is but one opinion, that he was one of the worst, if not the very worst, who ever disgraced the English throne. He was ambitious, but his was an ambition that hesitated at no crime to compass his object; he was fiendishly cruel, as shown by innumerable acts; his torture of the Bristol Jew, by extracting a tooth each day till he advanced a sum of ten thousand pounds; his murder of his young nephew, Arthur; his treatment of his faithful servant, the Archdeacon of Norwich, whom he cast into a dungeon, and inclosed in a leaden cope, in which position he perished without food or assistance; lastly, his brutal massacre of twenty-eight Welsh hostages, on hearing rumours of a raid into the Western Marches. Though showing sometimes fitful gleams of spirit in the face of danger, his general conduct merited the character of pusillanimous. Insolent in prosperity, abject in adversity, he excited equally the hate and contempt of all men; while such was his dissimulation and vindictiveness, that those once enrolled among his enemies could never trust his promises of reconciliation or friendship.

His char-  
acter.

John was twice married: first, to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, whom he divorced; and, secondly, to Isabella of Angouleme. He left two sons; Henry, who succeeded him, and Richard, King of the Romans and Earl of Cornwall; also three daughters, Joan, who married Alexander, King of Scotland; Eleanor, who married Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester; and Isabella, who married Frederic II., Emperor of Germany.

His family.

## HENRY III.—1216-1272.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.	Kings of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Otho IV., 1218. Frederic II., 1250. Interregnum to 1272.	Philip Augustus, 1223. Louis VIII., 1226. Louis IX., 1270.	Alexander II., 1249. Alef. III.	Henry I., 1217. Ferdinand III., 1252. Alphonso X.	Honorius III., 1227. Gregory IX., 1241. Celestin IV., 1241. Innocent IV., 1254. Alexander IV., 1261. Urban IV., 1264. Clement IV., 1268. Gregory X.

King's coronation, 1216.

On the death of John, his eldest son, Henry, had just completed his tenth year. His youth and innocence, combined with the rapidly growing jealousy of the foreigners, wrought a silent revolution in his favour. Gualo, the Papal legate, had him carried to Gloucester, where the ceremony of coronation was performed. The care of the young king's person and education was committed to the Earl of Pembroke, the earl marshal, with the title of guardian of the kingdom.

In the same year a great council was summoned at Bristol, where the Great Charter underwent revision and received a new confirmation. Some modifications and improvements, suggested by the altered circumstances, were made in it.

Shortly after the coronation of Henry, Hubert de Burgh, the chief justiciary, who had bravely defended the Castle of Dover against Louis, made a truce with that prince, who seized the occasion to revisit the Continent and collect more mercenaries for his enterprise. His hopes of success were, however, destined to be short-lived. On the resumption of hostilities, the Count of Perche, having defeated a small body of royalists, entered Lincoln, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants. The castle, however, was valiantly defended for Henry; and Pembroke, having collected a considerable force of knights and bowmen, a joint attack was concerted by him and the garrison of the

castle. It was completely successful; the archers shot the horses of the knights, who, rolling on the ground, were readily made prisoners. There was very little slaughter, and the encounter was contemptuously called the "Fair of Lincoln." The Count of Perche, refusing to surrender, was pierced through the brain by a royalist's pike.

Fair of Lincoln.

This was a sad blow to the prospects of Louis, but another, scarcely less severe, was inflicted on him by the Justiciary Hubert, who, with a fleet of forty vessels collected from the Cinque Ports, put to sea to intercept a formidable fleet of eighty French vessels, which had sailed from Calais under the command of the celebrated pirate, Eustace le Moine. The English ships sailed past the French as if bound for Calais; then turning, they followed and overtook the enemy. Powder of quicklime was shaken in the wind, which, being blown in the faces of the French, greatly embarrassed them. The English then boarded, and with axes cut the rigging and rendered the vessels unmanageable. Only fifteen vessels of the eighty escaped. The head of Eustace was cut off and carried on a pole as proof of the victory. On news of this disaster, Louis readily listened to terms of accommodation from the legate and earl marshal. They were, that he should restore to the English barons their homage and fealty, and that Henry, in return, should grant them an amnesty on return to their allegiance. The Kings of Scotland and Wales, who had done homage to Louis, were to have peace on similar terms. These princes soon after came and did homage to Henry.

Naval victory of Hubert de Burgh, 1217.

A. D. 1217.

In the second year of the reign a new revision and confirmation of the Great Charter took place. It was on this occasion that the clauses referring to the forests were thrown into a separate instrument known as the *Charta de foresta*.

The death of the Earl of Pembroke, which occurred soon after the peace, placed all authority in the hands of the two rival statesmen—Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches, a native of Poitou, now Bishop of Winchester. To the latter was committed by the legate the care of the king's person; to Hubert, the exercise of the royal authority. One of the justiciary's chief difficulties was to regain possession of the Crown castles from those to whom John had committed them during the civil war. Hubert, however, succeeded in thoroughly intimidating the discontented barons, who found an apologist in the Bishop of Winchester. The

justiciary's power was still further strengthened by his success against an audacious adventurer named Fawkes de Braute, to whom John had given castles and lands. He had dared to waylay the king's justices, and having seized one of them, flung him into a dungeon, because of some fines he had inflicted on him at the previous assize. De Burgh took this tyrant's fortress, hanged eighty of his knights, and banished himself and his family from the kingdom. This was a second blow to Des Roches, who was known as a friend of Fawkes, and he soon after left the kingdom on a visit to the Holy Land. His departure left Hubert without a rival, and for some years he ruled the kingdom with absolute sway. He had married a sister of the King of Scotland, had been created Earl of Kent, and chief justiciary for life. He had, however, enemies who only waited the occasion to ruin him. The king, on an incursion of the Welsh, complained of want of money, when he was told that he could easily obtain it from the justiciary, who had done little else than enrich himself during the whole period of his government. Hubert was then summoned to give an account of his administration, and after suffering imprisonment, and being frequently in peril of his life, he was stripped of all but his patrimonial possessions.

**Downfall of  
Hubert de  
Burgh, 1232.**

The Bishop of Winchester, on the fall of his rival, adopted a policy that greatly exasperated the English barons. He recommended the king to introduce foreigners into the kingdom, who could gradually be entrusted with the various offices and posts of Government, and who, bound to the king equally by interest and gratitude, could be always relied on against the pretended assertion of rights by the English barons. This proposal met the king's own inclinations, and in a short time a large number of Gascon and Poitevin knights came over, to whom the king's strong places and many of the highest posts of profit and honour were committed. To the remonstrance of the Earl of Pembroke, on behalf of the barons, Des Roches returned an insolent answer—that the earl deserved chastisement for his presumption, and that if the foreigners in the land already were not enough to keep down the king's rebellious subjects a greater number should be sent for.

**The king  
surrounds  
himself with  
Poitevin  
favourites.**

**The barons  
disobey the  
king's sum-  
mons to Par-  
liament.  
A. D. 1233.**

The refusal of the barons soon after to obey the king's summons to an assembly, and their intimation to him that if he did not banish from his court and councils Des Roches

and his Poitevins, they should place another prince on the throne who would more faithfully observe the laws, led to open hostilities. The Earl of Pembroke fled to Wales, where he enjoyed the protection of Llewellyn, prince of that country; but by a stratagem of Des Roches he was lured to Ireland, where he was slain. Meantime, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the saintly Edmund Rich, had repeatedly urged on the king the danger of trusting himself to the guidance of a minister so universally hated, as well as the perils to be feared from so large a body of foreigners who could not fail to excite popular jealousy. The king was at last convinced; the bishop and his friends were banished the court, and required to give an account of all the monies which had passed through their hands.

*Fight and death of Earl of Pembroke.*

*Dismissal of Des Roches and his friends.*

This act of the king's gave such great satisfaction to the people that, on the marriage of his sister, Isabella, to Frederic II. of Germany, they granted him two marks on every plough-land. The king himself married in the same year Eleanor, daughter of Raymond, Count of Provence. The arrival of the queen brought a number of her countrymen, and one of them, her uncle, William, the Bishop of Valence, acquired in a short time the same ascendancy over the king which the Bishop of Winchester had formerly exercised. The barons again complained, and their irritation was greatly increased when they learned that the aid granted for the portion of the king's sister was not applied to the purpose for which it was given. But the act which closed all hope of reform on the king's part was his liberation from the Tower, and restoration to his court and favour, of his former Poitevin ministers, except Des Roches, who had retired to Italy.

*Marriage of the king's sister to Emperor Frederic II. A. D. 1234.*

*King's marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Raymond, Count of Provence. A. D. 1234.*

*The queen's uncle, William, Bishop of Valence becomes the king's chief adviser.*

Still the king's necessities compelled him to observe a tone of conciliation to the barons, and, in 1237, at a council, in which he made very fair promises of amendment, he could only procure a subsidy by agreeing to confirm the two charters.

*A. D. 1237.*

In the same year, 1237, the arrival of Otho, papal legate, introduced a new element of trouble and discontent among the clergy. The demand of a fifth of their goods to aid the Pope against the assaults of the emperor was very reluctantly complied with. A number of Italian ecclesiastics were also promoted to vacant benefices in derogation of the customary rights of the bishops and of the patrons of livings. These appointments were the subject of much bitterness, not only to the English clergy, but to the

*Arrival of Otho, Papal legate. Discontent of the clergy. A. D. 1237.*

Boniface de Savoy made Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1241.

War with France and Wales, A.D. 1241.

Henry's campaign in France: battles of Taillebourg and Saintes, A.D. 1242.

people. The legate left England in 1241, and on his return to Italy had the ill-luck to fall into the hands of the emperor's people, who robbed him of all the contributions he had collected in England. The temper of the clergy was not improved by the king's appointment of the queen's brother, Boniface, a young man entirely ignorant of English life and habits, to the vacant See of Canterbury.

The king at this time became involved in two military expeditions: one against Wales, and one against Louis of France. The Welsh war was brought to a rapid termination. David, the son of Llewellyn ap Iorwerth, was compelled to deliver to the king his brother, Griffin, to surrender a portion of his territory, and, as to other points, to abide by the decision of the king's court. Henry's war with France was less fortunate. Though a truce existed between that country and England, the English monarch did not hesitate to respond to the appeal of his step-father,\* the Count de la Marche, to join a confederation against the French. Leaving the Archbishop of York as guardian of the realm, Henry, with his queen and brother Richard, just returned with much renown from Palestine, sailed from Portsmouth with a considerable force, and landed at the mouth of the Gironde, near Saintonge. Here he soon found himself at the head of an army of 1,600 knights, 700 cross-bowmen, and 20,000 foot. But this force was insufficient for the occasion. The two armies met at Taillebourg, separated only by the river Charente, the bridge over which was commanded by an English fort. The French, however, Louis himself at their head, dashed at this bridge, forced all opposition, and planted their standard on the other side. The English retreated to Saintes, where the battle was resumed on the following day with a result favourable to the French. Henry's allies now began to desert him, and to intrigue each for his own safety. Fearing treachery, the English king fled precipitately from Saintes, leaving his military chest to the enemy, and took refuge in Blaye. The campaign ended with a truce of five years between the two kings.

This enterprise involved Henry in great necessity, and

\* On the death of John, Isabella, his widow, married the Count de la Marche, whom she had formerly forsaken for the crown of England.

he found himself obliged to apply for a supply to Parliament, which he summoned to Westminster. The clergy and barons at first refused, and reproached the king with his extravagance and mismanagement of former subsidies. They complained of the issue of writs contrary to the tenor of the two charters, and demanded as a remedy for such abuse that they should have the nomination of the chancellor and the justiciary. They also claimed that a committee of four barons should be added to the king's council, who were to be conservators of the kingdom, and among other duties see that money granted by the nation was rightly applied. The king refused these claims; no subsidy was granted, and after a session of six days the assembly broke up, the king promising to correct all abuses.

The barons claim the nomination of the great officers of State.

In 1248, the barons again demanded that the appointment of the king's ministers, the chancellor, the chief justiciary, justiciary of forests, high treasurer, and some justices of the bench, should be made by them. The king met this by a mild remonstrance on its unreasonableness; but the barons persisted in their refusal to grant a supply, and Henry was reduced to the necessity of selling his plate and jewels.

Barons renew their demand, A.D. 1248.

In 1250 the king took the cross, and set about raising such sums as he could to defray the necessary expenses. An inquisition into forest trespasses, escheats, and alienations of crown-lands, yielded considerable sums, but by far the largest amount was obtained by fines on the Jews who were accused of clipping the coin or forging deeds. In this same year the king's daughter, Margaret, was married to Alexander III., the young King of Scotland. All was ready now for the king's departure; but troubles in Gascony, where the people complained of the intolerable severity of the Government of Simon de Montfort, detained him. At the inquiry into the charges against the latter, the king used the term "traitor," on which De Montfort at once gave him the lie, and informed him that were he not a king he should answer for the insult. The result of this angry interview was that the king's son, Prince Edward, was invested by patent with Gascony and the Isle of Oleron, and De Montfort retired into France.

The king takes the cross, A.D. 1250.

The Princess Margaret married Alexander III., King of Scots, A.D. 1250.

De Montfort's Government of Gascony, A.D. 1250.

But the troubles of this province had induced the King of Castile to advance claims to a portion of it, on the



ground of a grant made to his grandfather, Alphonso VIII., on his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Henry II.

Henry re-  
duces Gascony

Marriage of  
Prince Ed-  
ward, A. D.  
1254.

The king ac-  
cepts the  
Pope's offer  
of the Crown  
of Sicily for  
his 2nd son,  
Edmund, A. D.  
1254.

Earl Richard  
chosen King  
of the Ro-  
mans, A. D.  
1254.

The barons  
come armed  
to the Council  
of Westmin-  
ster, A. D.  
1254.

King Henry now considered his own presence necessary to preserve the only territory, except Bordeaux, which remained to him in France. The prelates and barons were assembled; before them the king laid the condition of Gascony, a subsidy was thereupon voted; the two charters were republished, and all infringers of them solemnly excommunicated. Henry, leaving the queen and his brother Richard regents behind him, sailed from Portsmouth and landed at Bordeaux. He quickly reduced the Gascon castles; but the King of Castile, still maintaining a menacing attitude, Henry made proposals of accommodation, which were successful, and the friendship of the monarchs was cemented by the marriage of Prince Edward to Eleanor, the King of Castile's half-sister. Henry, after this successful expedition, returned home through France, and was magnificently entertained for some days in Paris by King Louis. But the expense of the enterprise was a serious counterpoise to its other advantages. In 1250, the Emperor Frederic died, and the Pope became desirous to separate Naples and Sicily from the empire. He offered the crown of the new kingdom of Sicily, as it was called, to Henry's younger son, Edmund, and the king readily accepted the offer. The terms were, however, onerous: the king was to defray the expense of the war, and to go over with an army to conquer the country. For this purpose he was to be released from his crusader's vow.

In the following year a similar offer was made to Richard, the king's brother, who was chosen by the electors King of the Romans. But these honours, though highly valued in the narrow court circle, excited nothing but disapproval among the barons, who saw that all these barren dignities were very dearly purchased, and would probably be made the pretext for demands on the nation, which it could ill afford. In fact, the king found himself involved in an enormous debt in connexion with the Sicilian project; but still bent on pursuing it, summoned a meeting of his barons, at Westminster, and demanded a supply for that purpose. On the third day he found the assembly in complete armour; but on the king's entrance they laid aside their swords. Surprised at this unusual appearance, the king asked: "Am I, then, your prisoner?"

"No, sir," replied Roger Bigod; "but by your partiality to foreigners, and your own extravagance, the kingdom is involved in misery." They then proposed that a committee of barons and prelates should possess the powers of government for the reform of abuses and the enactment of better laws. It was agreed, finally, that twelve barons should be chosen at the next meeting at Oxford, who, with twelve members of the king's council, were to form a standing committee of twenty-four, for the reform of abuses and the enactment of good laws.

The parliament, or council, afterwards called the "Mad," met on the appointed day at Oxford. The barons came, accompanied by their vassals, and in full military array. They proceeded to the formation of the Committee of Twenty-four. Two from each side were then chosen, and to the four thus formed was assigned the task of nominating the fifteen members of the king's Council of State. The result of the arrangements was to transfer the royal authority to the committee, who nominated all the high functionaries of Government—chancellor, justiciary, governors of the royal castles, treasurer, and sheriff, were all their creatures and the instruments of their will. A number of enactments made at this time are known from the place, as the "Provisions of Oxford." These are: 1, that four knights in each county should be chosen by the freeholders to examine into and report upon to parliament, that is the committee, all excesses, trespasses, or other grievances suffered from the royal officers; 2, that a new sheriff should be annually elected by the freeholders of each county; 3, that sheriffs, treasurer, justiciary, and chancellor should present an annual statement of accounts; and 4, that parliament should meet three times each year, in the months of February, June, and October. Parliament, however, was become but a name; under pretence of saving trouble and expense to the other members, twelve persons had been appointed as representatives of the whole prelates, barons, and tenants in chief; so that parliament simply meant the committee and these twelve representatives. De Montfort, who was the master-spirit in all these proceedings, now bent himself to banish all foreigners, especially the sons of the Count de la Marche, the king's half-brothers, Aymar, Guy, William, and Geoffrey de Valence. These secretly fled from Oxford, but were pursued, surrounded, and

Mad Parliament, A.D. 1259.

New scheme of Government.

Provisions of Oxford, A.D. 1259.

banished the kingdom. Everyone was now obliged to swear, under penalty of being declared a public enemy, to observe all the ordinances of the committee of barons; even Prince Edward, and Richard, King of the Romans, had to submit to this humiliation. But a perceptible change had come over the country, which could see nothing considerable in the way of improvement after so much noise and violence. Petitions came in, remonstrating on the delay of the promised reforms, on which a show of energy was made; but the chief measure adopted was to appoint commissioners to observe and report on the conduct of the judges. Henry had observed the change of feeling in his favour, and after thus existing as the shadow of a king for two years, ventured to take steps to regain his authority. The rivalry of Gloucester and Leicester had driven the latter to France, and Gloucester himself showed a conciliatory disposition towards the king. Henry, deeming the time opportune, entered the council, upbraided the members with their selfishness and negligence of the objects for which they had been constituted, told them they were no longer his council, and he should effect the desired reforms by other means. He then retired to the Tower, seized the treasure at the mint, ordered the city gates to be closed, the male citizens above twelve years to swear fealty to him, and by a proclamation commanded the knights of the counties to attend next parliament in arms. The barons summoned their retainers, but their party had grown much weaker, and they were not indisposed to a compromise with the king. After many failures terms were at last agreed to, and the king seized the occasion of the peace to pay a visit to the King of France. Leicester, however, was not satisfied, and he took advantage of the king's absence to return to England, and organize the association of barons anew. He was soon at the head of a powerful force, which devastated the lands of the royalists. The mediation of the King of the Romans brought about a peace, which was a cession by the king of all his recent advantages. This peace was again followed by hostilities, after which both sides accepted the arbitration of King Louis. His award was against the barons on every point, and they accordingly declared it contradictory, and, therefore, a nullity, and at once resumed hostilities. They were powerfully supported by the citizens of London, of whom

Henry at-  
tempts to  
regain his  
authority.  
A.D. 1264.

St. Louis of  
France arbi-  
trates.  
Barons reject  
his award.  
A.D. 1264.

15,000 flocked to Leicester's standard. The two armies met near Lewes, in Sussex, and the battle opened with an impetuous onset of the Londoners. These were received by Prince Edward and his knights, and in a few minutes were broken, and pursued with great slaughter a distance of four miles from the field. This impetuosity of the prince lost the battle. When he returned, his father and the King of the Romans were prisoners, and their army dispersed. On the morrow of the engagement a treaty, or arrangement, known as the *Miss* of Lewes, was agreed to, by which it was provided that all prisoners taken during the war were to be set at liberty; the princes, Edward and Henry, were to be hostages for their respective fathers, the king, and Richard, King of the Romans; and all matters not otherwise settled should be left to the award of arbitrators. The king was now in Leicester's power, and though treated with formal respect, his captor compelled him to give the sanction of the royal seal to measures the most derogatory to his dignity, and injurious to his interests. A new parliament was summoned to meet at London, to which, for the first time, representatives not only from the counties, but from the cities and boroughs, were called; and as it was one entirely devoted to the interests of Leicester and his faction, it became a useful instrument to confirm a new treaty, which he had extorted from the fears and necessities of the king. But the escape of Prince Edward soon after changed the whole aspect of affairs. He was met by Roger Mortimer and the Earl of Gloucester, and in a little time found himself in a position to assume the offensive. The decisive battle was fought at Evesham. Leicester, on seeing the enemy's numbers and disposition, exclaimed: "The Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are Prince Edward's." Leicester seeing himself surrounded, directed his men to form a circle; but all efforts were vain, and Leicester himself, and his son Henry were among the slain. When unhorsed, and fighting on foot, he inquired whether quarter was given; but a voice replied: "No quarter to traitors." The king, who had been placed in the front of the battle, was in imminent danger of being slain, when he cried out: "Hold! I am Harry of Winchester," on which the prince, who recognised his father's voice, hastened to remove him to a place of safety.

In this battle the rebels lost 160 knights, and a great

Battle of  
Lewes, A.D.  
1264.

First meet-  
ing of the  
House of Com-  
mons, A.D.  
1295.

Battle of  
Evesham, and  
death of  
Leicester,  
A.D. 1265.

number of gentlemen not yet knighted. All the royal castles, except Dover and Kenilworth, surrendered to the king at once. The two latter were in time reduced. About a month after the victory at Evesham a parliament was summoned to meet at Winchester, where the punishment of the confederate barons and their adherents was arranged. It was so severe, that Simon de Montfort, one of the sons of Leicester, resolved to continue resistance in his castle of Kenilworth. Other members of the party took refuge in the Isle of Ely. The inhabitants of the Cinque Ports turned pirates, and harassed the nation's commerce. Prince Edward, however, having taken Winchelsea, the latter towns returned to their duty, and in a little time the last trace of rebellion was extinguished. The Londoners were punished with the loss of their charter, but in about four months it was restored, on payment of a fine of 20,000 marks. As the severity of the measures taken at the parliament of Winchester was supposed to be the cause of the prolonged resistance in several places, a committee of four prelates and eight lay-lords was formed to devise more moderate terms. The result of their labours is known as the Award, or Dictum, of Kenilworth. It decreed that forfeited estates were to be restored to their original owners, on condition of paying the king a fine, varying with the degree of criminality; the first, or worst, class of offenders, seven years' income; the second, five; and the third, two or one.

Dictum de  
Kenilworth.

Prince Ed-  
ward takes  
the crown.  
A.D. 1270.

Death of St.  
Louis at  
Tunis, A.D.  
1270.

The kingdom being now in profound peace, Prince Edward resolved to carry out his long-cherished wish of taking the cross. Louis IX. of France had set out on the same crusade, and was desirous of Edward's company and aid. But the French monarch did not sail directly for the Holy Land. He was persuaded by his brother Charles, King of Sicily, to join him in punishing the King of Tunis for his refusal to pay the usual tribute. Louis landed with 60,000 men; but the heat of the weather produced a dreadful mortality, and the king himself was one of the first to fall a victim to its effects. He was succeeded by his brother Philip, who had accompanied him. Edward arrived in Tunis after the death of Louis; and finding that the Kings of France and Sicily were resolved on returning home, determined to proceed to Palestine alone. He spent the winter in Sicily, and in the following spring sailed for Acre, which he reached in time to raise

the siege. He also took Nazareth, and with very small forces defeated the Saracens in several engagements. During this period an attempt was made to assassinate him by an emissary of the enemy, who wounded him with a dagger supposed to have been poisoned. But the wound, though for a time very alarming, ultimately yielded to surgical treatment.

Attempted  
assassination  
of Edward.

The prince had reached Sicily on his return home when he received the news of his father's death, which took place at Westminster, in the 57th year of his reign. His last days were darkened by the loss of his brother, Richard, who died a little before himself, and by the assassination of his nephew, Henry, son of Richard, in Italy, by the sons of De Montfort.

The character of Henry III. is sufficiently displayed by the events of his long and eventful reign. He had few of what are called great qualities, but he was equally free from personal vices. He was kind, compassionate, and generous, but his best acts often lacked discretion, so that often when the motive was excellent the result was, nevertheless, mischievous. He was choleric and impulsive, and so easily dominated by the influence of others that no confidence was placed in his acts or promises. For a prince of his weak, but kindly nature, no period could be less suited than that in which his lot was cast.

Of Henry's children four survived him: two sons—Edward, who succeeded him, and Edmund, Earl of Lancaster; and two daughters—Margaret, Queen of Scots, and Beatrix, Duchess of Bretagne.

#### TAXATION IN REIGN OF RICHARD I.—RAISING THE KING'S RANSOM.

To none of his predecessors fell a heavier task than that which devolved on Archbishop Hubert, the chief justiciary from 1194 to 1198, when he found himself compelled to find money for the ransom of his master from the Emperor Henry. In two years this minister forwarded to the king the enormous sum of £1,100,000. The following are the expedients by which the sums necessary for the king's ransom were procured:

- (1.) A scutage was levied of 20 shillings on every knight's fee.
- (2.) A hidage, or carucage, of 2 shillings on the hide or carucate. This tax was the *donum* of Hen. II.
- (3.) A fourth of revenue and movables. This is the first instance of a tax specified in the form of a definite fractional part, and which became so common in the after reigns. It

carries with it one equitable principle of taxation, proportionality of the tax to ability of the payer.

(4.) A demand for the wool of the Cistercian Order. This was the earliest instance of a tax levied on the staple product of the nation.

(5.) A demand for the plate of the churches : an experiment not repeated till the time of Henry VIII.

In the same reign (1198) St. Hugh of Lincoln opposed a proposed tax of Justiciary Hubert, and so offers the earliest precedent for the direct and successful refusal of a crown tax.

#### THE GREAT CHARTER.

The Great Charter, sealed by King John at Runnymede,\* is admittedly a document of immense importance in English Constitutional History. Mr. Hallam calls it the "Key-stone of English liberty;" and Professor Stubbs, speaking of it, says: "The whole constitutional history of England is but a commentary on this charter."

Charter embodied old laws.

In demanding it, the barons professed to ask nothing new, but merely the restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor, or rather of Henry I., whose charter existed, and presumably embodied those of the Confessor. The barons at first presented their petition in the form of 49 articles, which were afterwards arranged in a charter of 63 articles, or sections.

Preamble.

The preamble is as follows:—To all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, sheriffs, provosts, officers; and to all bailiffs and other, our faithful subjects, who shall see this present charter greeting. Know ye that we unto the honour of Almighty God, and for the salvation of the souls of our progenitors and successors, kings of England, to the advancement of Holy Church and amendment of our realm, of our mere free will, have given and granted to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, and to all freemen of this our realm, these liberties following, to be kept in our kingdom of England for ever.

In this preamble four distinct classes are addressed: the clergy, the baronage, knights, and other tenants in chief; the boroughs and towns; and, lastly, the great body of freemen. Still it is not practicable to classify the articles under these heads, as many of them refer to mixed interests. The first is the only article exclusively devoted to the Church—"The English Church shall be free, and shall have her whole rights and her liberties unhurt." About 17 articles are devoted to the baronage and the relations of feudal tenants and their lords; 3 articles are devoted to confirming the liberties of London and other towns; 19 articles apply to all freemen generally; 3 are occupied with promises of reparation; 3 are devoted to the interests of Welshmen; 1 is given to the claims

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\* Runnymede lies between Windsor and Starnes. It is said to signify the meadow of council, from an ancient custom of holding national assemblies there. The Saxon *Rune* meant counsel.

f the King of Scotland ; 8 are devoted to the royal officers, sheriffs, bailiffs, &c. ; and 5 are taken up with the constitution and rights of the committee of 25 barons. The following is a rough tabular view of the articles and subject-matter:—

*Analysis of  
the charter.*

Church, 1, 22.  
Baronage and feudal tenures, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 21, 25, 26, 37, 43, 46.  
Towns and boroughs, 12, 13, 23.  
Freemen, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 27, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 54.  
Royal officers, sheriffs, &c., 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 38, 45.  
Forest clauses, 44, 47, 48, 53.  
Reparative, 50, 51, 52.  
Welshmen, 56, 57, 58.  
King of Scotland's rights, 59.  
Constitution and powers of the committee of 25 barons, 55, 60, 61, 62, 63.

From this table it is clear that the clergy, who, through their head, Cardinal Langton, had such a large share in procuring the charter, were not actuated by their own grievances ; for, with the reception of the general guarantee of its rights contained in the first article, there is nothing to imply any demand from them. Either they had no grievance of their own to complain of, or their conduct was one of singular moderation. The only articles that continue to have still an interest are those which deal with freemen generally, and the few relating to towns and boroughs. Of the former the most important are the following :—*No freeman shall be apprehended, imprisoned, or disseised, or outlawed, or banished, or any other way destroyed ; nor will we go upon him, or send upon him, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.* In this article we clearly contained *Habeas Corpus* and Trial by Jury, the most effectual securities against oppression which the wisdom of man has hitherto been able to devise.\*

Art. 39

Next in importance to this is art. 40—*To no man will we sell, to no man will we delay right and justice.* In art. 45 the king promises that no persons shall be appointed justiciaries, sheriffs, bailiffs, &c., without a knowledge of the law.

By art. 24 a great grievance was removed : sheriffs, constables of cities, coroners, bailiffs, and other royal officers were forbidden to hold pleas of the Crown, that is to hear trials for capital crimes.

The 17th article removed the inconvenience experienced by suitors following the king's court through the country. It enacts—*Common Pleas shall not follow our court, but be held at some certain place.*

Excessive amercements, often for the most trifling offences, were a grievance felt by all classes. Articles 20, 21, and 22 are devoted to this subject, and establish the principle that there must be observed proportion between the amercement and offence. Art. 20 provides that in case of amercement the *contenement*—the goods and chattels

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\* Sir J. Mackintosh.



necessary for every man's station, as the books of a scholar, the merchandize of a merchant, the agricultural instruments of a husbandman—shall be saved.

Art. 21 provides that earls and barons shall only be amerced by their peers.

Art. 22 provides that a clerk shall be amerced for a lay-tenement, like others, and not according to the extent of his ecclesiastical benefice.

### CONFIRMATION AND RENEWALS OF THE CHARTER.

A. D. 1216.

The charter received its first confirmation on the 12th Nov., 1216, in the 1st year of reign of Henry III. Such alterations and additions were introduced as seemed for good reasons desirable.\* Among the omissions were such as related to King John personally. It bore the seals of Gualo, the papal legate, and of William, Earl of Pembroke; that of the late king with his crown, having been lost in the Wash. Writs were again issued to sheriffs to have the charter of liberties read in the county-courts and its provisions observed.

A. D. 1217.

On the 23rd Sept., 1217, the second year of Henry's reign, another grant or confirmation of the charter, again modified and improved, was made at Merton, in Surrey. This also was sealed with the seals of the legate, and William Mareschal the elder. It was on this renewal, in the second year of Henry's reign, that the Forest clauses of John's charter were omitted, and thrown into a separate instrument, called the charter of forests, or *charta de foresta*.

A. D. 1224.

On the 11th Feb., 1224, in the ninth year of the king's reign, both charters were renewed, the people paying the king a tax of a fifteenth, to enable him to win back his dominions in France. The king being now in his nineteenth year, and declared of age by the Pope, the preamble has the words *spontanea et bona voluntate nostra*—of our own free will and pleasure—instead of the phrase used during his minority, *per consilium Gualonis*, &c.—through the advice of Gualo, &c. This charter of the 9th of Henry III. has the peculiarity of being attested by a great number of temporal and spiritual peers, which the previous charters are not. It is the form in which the charter exists in the Statute Book.

A. D. 1236.

On the 28th Jan., 1236, another regrant of both charters was made in a great assembly at Westminster. The king on this occasion received in return a grant of a thirteenth.

A. D. 1253.

On the 13th of May, 1253, there was another publication of the charter in Westminster Hall, accompanied with solemn denunciation of sentence of excommunication against all who should violate

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\* One of these was the omission of a provision that no tallages should be imposed without the consent of the prelates, barons, and knights of the kingdom. The provision was not abolished, but held in abeyance on account of the impoverished state of the young king's treasury. But its restoration to its place in the charter, in the year 1254, required a business and effort little, if at all less, than those which had secured the great charter itself from John.

or infringe them. As the candles were extinguished, and the awful denunciation uttered, the king, who, with most of the nobles, was present, cried out: "So help me, God, I will keep all these things inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, as I am a king crowned and anointed."

In 1264, Henry and his son were prisoners in the hands of De Montfort; and to obtain the prince's liberty he was compelled to put his seal to a charter of confirmation, dated 14th March, 1264, in the 49th year of his reign. There is in this a very bold clause, authorising the king's subjects to rise in arms against him, and destrain him to the utmost, should he violate or transgress the conditions.

A. D. 1264.

In 1297, when King Edward I. was in Flanders, murmurs were raised by some discontented barons at home as to the neglect into which the charters had fallen. The king agreed to confirm the charters in return for a supply, and accordingly at a parliament, held on the 12th of Oct., 1297, he passed the statute, which is known as *Confirmatio Chartarum*, or confirmation of the charters, for which he received from the diocese of Canterbury a tenth, from that of York a fifth, and from the people a ninth of their movables. This charter of 25th of Edward I. makes the charter of liberties the common law of the land, so that judgments given in opposition to it would be void. It also restored the provision as to talliages.

A. D. 1297.

On the 6th of March, 1300, another confirmation of these charters took place, by the statute known as *Articuli super Cartas*, wherein it was provided that three knights, or principal freeholders, should be elected in every county, with power to punish offenders against the charters by fines and imprisonment. The charters are further ordered to be publicly read in the king's court four times a year. The last confirmation of the charter took place on the following year, 29th of Edward I., when the king not only confirmed the charters by letters patent, but also added the proviso, that if anything contrary to the tenor of the charters had been enacted, it should be annulled by the common consent of the realm. Thus, for nearly a century, was the public mind preoccupied with the preservation of these charters, which, from John's grant, in 1215, to the reign of Henry VI., were renewed and confirmed no less than thirty-eight times, the favour, on each occasion, being willingly purchased with a grant of supplies.

A. D. 1300.

#### PROGRESS OF REPRESENTATION.

From the time of the Conqueror, the English monarchs were accustomed to avail themselves of the services of county knights, either to procure information as to rights, liberties, or grievances, or to assist in assessing taxes. Such knights were appointed either by the nomination of the king, or his officers, or by the election of the freeholders, in the county court. The principle of representation, involving as it does that of election, could only advance as the latter superseded that of nomination. The following are examples of the employment of knights of the shire, elected for the transaction of various kinds of county business:—

1. In 1070, the Conqueror ordered that twelve men, skilled in the Saxon customs, should be chosen by each county, to inform him, on oath, as to their laws.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

of the hidage or carucage of 1198, the principle of representation by representatives of the people was laid. It was the stewards of the county barons, the bailiffs, and the township, and two knights from each hundred, who met the sheriff and four knights, chosen for the purpose, that they would faithfully declare the number of knights there were of various tenures, and they assessed the knights at 2 shillings, and then at 3.

In 1194, coroners were instituted. Three knights were chosen in every county to be guardians of the pleas of the county, as they have continued to be, elected by the freeholders of the county. Their appointment was on the elective principle. Professor Stubbs thinks that it was the transition from nomination to election took place in the four knights, who nominated the grand jury, who were elected by the county courts.

The king addressed a writ to the sheriffs, ordering them to choose four knights from each county, to discuss with him the business of the county.

The sheriffs are appointed collectors of subsidies, in which they choose two knights, chosen by full assent of the suitors in the county.

The king directs the sheriffs to send to him two knights, chosen by the county, to consult as to what aid they will grant him for his wars in Gascony.

By one of the provisions of Oxford, four knights are chosen by each county, to report to parliament all the business of the county, charters, excesses of royal officers, and other grievances.

Writs were issued by Henry III. for a parliament at which each county was ordered to send three knights, to discuss the common concerns of the kingdom.

At Montfort, after his victory at Lewes, assembled a parliament which he summoned, besides the barons and higher knights from each county, and two citizens and burgesses from each borough. This body was the first which possessed the elements of our modern parliament, the lords spiritual and temporal of the shire, that is, county members, and knights of the shire, and burgesses of the boroughs.

## EDWARD I., 1271-1307.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.	Kings of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Rodolph, 1291. Adolphus, 1298. Albert.	Philip III., 1285. Philip IV.	Alex. III., 1286. Margaret 1290. Interregnum, 1292. Baliol, 1296. Interregnum, 1306. Robert I.	Alphonso X. 1284. Sancho IV., 1295. Ferdinand IV.	Gregory X., 1276. Innocent V., 1276. Adrian V., 1276. John XXI., 1277. Nicholas III., 1280. Martin IV., 1285. Honorius IV., 1287. Nicholas IV., 1292. Celestin V., 1294. Boniface VIII., 1303. Benedict XI., 1304. Clement V.

Edward, before setting out for Palestine, had provided against all contingencies, and appointed a council which, in the event of the death of his father and uncle, should have charge of the realm. This council, at whose head was the Archbishop of York, preserved the kingdom in peace during the two years that elapsed before the arrival of the prince. Edward's return journey through Europe was a continuous ovation; wherever he came the magistrates and people went out to meet him as the champion of the cross. He visited the Pope, who received him graciously; did homage to Philip for his lands in France, and arranged with Margaret, Countess of Flanders, a quarrel of some standing in reference to an annuity which she claimed, and which, in its results, stopped the English export of wool, then the staple commodity of the kingdom, and so inflicted injury on both nations.

Prince Edward's return from Palestine. Visits the Pope, does homage to Philip for French possessions, and arranges the quarrel with Flanders.

After this the king set out for England, and on the 2nd of August, 1274, he was crowned with his queen at Westminster.

Coronation of the king.

**His policy.** One great policy seems to have taken hold of Edward from the first—the union under his crown of the whole island by the subjugation of Wales and Scotland. He began with Wales. The neglect of Llewellyn, prince of that country, to comply with the king's summons—to take the usual oath of fealty—furnished a pretext. David, brother of Llewellyn, had been deprived of his patrimony, and in revenge joined the standard of Edward with a number of followers. The first campaign was brief and apparently final. Edward crossed the Dee, took the castles of Rhudlan and Flint, seized the Isle of Anglesea, and confined the army of Llewellyn to the mountains and forests, where famine soon compelled an unconditional surrender. The terms were at first very severe—a fine of £50,000; Anglesea to be held as a fief of the English Crown, at an annual rent of a thousand marks; the surrender of territory between Chester and the River Conway; lastly, the prince to do homage to Edward at Rhudlan and London, and to give ten hostages for his fidelity. Most of these were afterwards remitted; the fine of £50,000, the rent for Anglesea, and the surrender of hostages were all cancelled. The king also gave his consent to a marriage between Llewellyn and a daughter of Simon de Montfort, who, in a voyage to Wales, had been made prisoner.

**Invasion of  
Wales, 1277.**

**Merlin's pro-  
phesy.**

**Second war  
with Wales.**

Meantime, David, in spite of numerous obligations to Edward, now became reconciled to his brother, and incited him to try again the fortune of war. The hopes of the Welsh at this time were powerfully stimulated by a prophecy of Merlin, that, when English money became round, the Prince of Wales should be crowned in London. The issue of a new coinage of round halfpennies and farthings by Edward was thought to be its fulfilment. The war opened with the capture of Hawarden Castle by David. The garrison were hanged, and the chief justiciary, Roger Clifford, carried off prisoner to Snowdon. The castles of Flint and Rhudlan were next besieged, and the English marches invaded and ravaged. Against these advantages, however, was to be set off the loss of Anglesea, which was seized by the fleet of the Cinque Ports. From the island the English had thrown a bridge of boats over the Menai Straits, and a large body crossed over to the other side. Here they were set upon by the Welsh, and driven, with great slaughter, back to the boats which, the bridge having parted, sank under them, and all perished. The death of

Llewellyn soon after decided the campaign. That prince lay on one side of the Wye, the English on the other. The only bridge was held by the Welsh, but it is said a traitorous Welshman led the enemy over a ford, so that they crossed the river unknown to Llewellyn, who, with his esquire, was resting in a barn when he heard shouts, and soon, to his astonishment, beheld English banners. He was observed by an English knight named Franklon, who, ignorant of his rank—for Llewellyn was on foot and without armour—rode up to attack him. Llewellyn did not decline the unequal combat, and was mortally wounded by a thrust of his opponent's spear. The news of the prince's death soon became known. The Welsh lost spirit in the contest, and gladly submitted to Edward's terms. David attempted to hold out among the mountains, but he was pursued and taken in chains to Rhudlan Castle. Edward refused to see him, and a Parliament was summoned, at Shrewsbury, to decide his fate. That body condemned him to be drawn to the gallows as a traitor, to be hanged as a murderer, to have his bowels burned, and the different parts of his body dispersed through the country. His head was fixed beside that of his brother, Llewellyn, on the gate of the Tower. The head of the latter was, in ridicule of Merlin's prophecy, encircled with a mock crown of silvered ivy leaves. The conquest of Wales was now complete, and to ensure its permanency Edward fortified the Castles of Bangor and Conway, and distributed the surrounding territory among powerful English barons. By the Statutum Walliæ, or Statute of Wales, the English legal system was introduced into the country, and the English territorial divisions of shires and hundreds replaced those of the natives. The birth of a prince, afterwards Edward II., in Carvarvon Castle, was joyfully hailed by the Welsh, who claimed the child as their own countryman, and professed to see in his proclamation, as Prince of Wales, the verification of the prophecy which foretold their independence.\*

Death of  
Llewellyn.

Conquest of  
Wales, A. D.  
1282.

Birth of Ed-  
ward, Prince  
of Wales,  
A. D. 1283.

About this time the affairs of Europe became troubled by the action of Peter, King of Aragon, who, while Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, was away in Tunis, excited the people against the French on the island, every

\* The common story of the massacre of the bards by Edward I. rests on no historical evidence.

man of whom, to the number of 8,000, was massacred in a secret and sudden attack. Peter then ascended the Sicilian throne without opposition. The assassins and their abettors were excommunicated, and Aragon was granted to Philip III. of France for his younger son, and a French army of 70,000 men entered Catalonia. Peter, however, was fortunate in his general, Doria, who defeated the French fleet, took prisoner the Prince of Salerno, son of Charles of Anjou, and drove back the French armies from the Pyrenees. Death, however, removed these contending princes in one year, and their places and claims centred in their sons. Philip III. was succeeded by Philip IV., Peter by his son Alphonso, in Aragon, and by his son James, in Sicily. The Prince of Salerno, the son and heir of Charles of Anjou, was a prisoner in the hands of James. To procure his release and mediate a peace between these princes, the French Government sought the services of Edward, which were readily given, and proved entirely successful.

Edward arbitrates between the Kings of France and Aragon.

The affairs of Scotland next occupied his attention. His sister, Margaret, who had married Alexander III., had left that monarch a widower, with three children—two sons, Alexander and David; and a daughter, Margaret, married to Eric, King of Norway. In 1281, Prince Alexander died, and in a few years he was followed to the grave by his sister and brother. The old king himself was soon after killed by a fall from his horse, and the nearest heir was an infant, the child of his daughter Margaret and Eric, of Norway. This princess, also called Margaret, and known as the Maid of Norway, Edward resolved to marry to his son, and so effect peaceably that union of the two crowns, which was the main object of his reign. The proposal was favourably received by Eric; the Scotch, too, were induced to accept it, and to make proposals to Edward and Eric on the subject. Among the stipulations made by the Scots was, that Scotland should remain "a separate kingdom divided, free, and without subjection, by its ancient limits, to which Edward readily gave his consent." All these preliminaries were, however, rendered useless by the death of the maid on her voyage from Norway. The families of the last three Scottish kings had now become extinct, and as many as thirteen candidates laid claim to the throne. The number, however, was easily reduced to three, all descendants of David, Earl of Hunting-

The Maid of Norway.  
A. D. 1291.

Edward's schemes.

Death of the Maid of Norway.

don. These were John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. The last had no claim, unless the kingdom were divisible, which it was decided not to be, so that ultimately the contest lay between Baliol and Bruce. The pretensions of the various claimants divided Scotland into factions, and the dispute was finally submitted to the arbitration of the English king. Edward, in undertaking the task, took care to make known his pretensions as sovereign lord, and demanded an acknowledgment of this superiority from the different claimants, who readily complied. Baliol alone showed any reluctance.

A council was then formed, consisting of forty Scots, named by Baliol, forty by Bruce, and twenty-four Englishmen appointed by Edward. The inquiry was finally reduced to the question, whether the grandson of an elder daughter, or the son of a younger, had the better claim to an inheritance; or, in other words, whether order of birth, or nearness in blood, should decide? The verdict was in favour of order of birth, or primogeniture; and Baliol, accordingly, was declared king, and swore fealty to Edward, and, in a few weeks, did him homage. But he was soon made to feel that these were no mere ceremonies. In the very first year he was summoned to appear in the king's court, in London, to answer appeals from his judgments. In this proceeding, however harsh, or vexatious, the English king was within his feudal rights, it being a well-known liability of vassals to be called to account in the court of their superior lord. Baliol, however, felt keenly his dependence and humiliation, and cast about for some means of regaining his liberty, and the dignity of his crown.

Baliol,  
King, A. D.  
1292.

He is sum-  
moned to an-  
swer appeals  
from his  
judgments, to  
Edward's  
Court.

Such an opportunity seemed to present itself in a French alliance. A paltry squabble between some English and Norman sailors had led to a series of sanguinary assaults,

TABLE I.

Alexander III.,  
m. Margt., sister of Ed. I.,  
Margaret,  
m. Eric of Norway.  
Margaret, the  
Maid of Norway.

TABLE II.

DAVID, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of Wm. the Lion.

Margaret, m. Alan of Galloway.	Isabella, m. R. Bruce.	Ada, m. H. Hastings.
Devorgilda, m. John Baliol.	Robert Bruce,	Henry Hastings.
John Baliol.		John Hastings.



Naval  
battle be-  
tween English  
and Scotch  
sailors.  
A. D. 1292.

which culminated in what may be termed a great naval battle, which proved a victory for the English. The King of France, greatly provoked by the loss of his best seamen and ships, summoned Edward, as Duke of Aquitaine, to appear in his court at Paris, to answer for the conduct of his subjects. Edward, aware of Philip's real object, assumed a conciliatory tone, and was induced to hand over Guienne to him, on the understanding that it should be restored in forty days. On the expiration of this period, its restoration was demanded, but this Philip refused. The king now prepared to sail to Guienne, and regain it by force; but an outbreak of the Welsh detained him, and the Guienne expedition was abandoned.

Edward  
surrenders  
Guienne to  
Philip.  
A. D. 1294.

Final revolt  
of Wales.

This last effort for Welsh independence, though crowned with success in the beginning, was, on the approach of fine weather, easily crushed. The English standard floated from the summit of Snowdon, and the chief leaders of the revolt threw themselves on Edward's mercy. They were confined in various castles, and their lands given to their heirs, on the promise of fidelity to the King of England.

Edward now, a second time, preparing to set out for his French territories, was again detained by the affairs of Scotland. The Scotch were silently impatient of the authority claimed and exercised by the English king. The hostile relations of Philip and Edward were become known, and it required little to persuade the former to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Baliol, against their common enemy. Of this Edward soon became aware, and marched to the borders with 40,000 men. There he received from Baliol a renunciation of his fealty and homage, both on his own part, and that of his barons. On receiving it, Edward is said to have exclaimed, in angry contempt: "Felon! fool! but, since he will not obey our summons, we must go and find him out." The Earl of Warenne was then sent forward, with a large force, to lay siege to the castle of Dunbar, and, on the approach of the Scotch army to its relief, he determined to give battle. The English army made a slight retreating movement, on which the Scotch, who were on the hills, shouted, "They run," and immediately rushed down to the plain, in a disorderly torrent, to meet the supposed fugitives in solid array, and steadily marching towards them. The battle was soon over, the Scots took to flight, and great numbers perished in the pursuit. This decided the war; Dunbar

Battle of  
Dunbar.  
A. D. 1294.

Castle surrendered, with the castles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh. Stirling Castle was abandoned by its garrison, and the principal towns made submission. This was the first conquest of Scotland. Baliol surrendered, and was lodged in the Tower, after he had transferred to Edward the fealty which the Scotch barons had sworn to himself. At the request of Pope Boniface, he was released some three years after, and permitted to retire into exile, where he died six years later in obscurity.

First conquest of Scotland.

But, though Scotland seemed outwardly subdued, and the great barons knowing the power of Edward, and dreading the penalties of treason, remained quiet, the people bore with impatience the rule of the stranger; and gave expression to their feelings in numerous assaults on detached parties of the enemy. The most energetic of the patriotic bands was headed by an outlaw knight, Sir William Wallace, whose fame soon drew to his standard all who had resolved to hazard life and fortune in defence of liberty and country. With him were united Sir William Douglas, Sir Alexander Lindsay, Sir Andrew Moray, and the younger Bruce, Earl of Carrick. The efforts of the patriots were guided and encouraged by James Stewart of Scotland, and Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow. Edward had set out for the recovery of Guienne; but two armies were formed, one on the west coast, under Lord Percy and Sir R. Clifford; and one on the east, under the command of the Governor, De Warenne. In the Scotch camp all was dissension; and those leaders who had anything to lose, the Stewart, the Bishop of Glasgow, Lindsay, and Douglas, confessed their treason, and sought pardon. Wallace and Moray alone remained firm, and were followed by the greater part of the army, when, after so many defections, they resolved on a retreat behind the Frith of Forth. At Stirling, Wallace came up with the army of De Warenne, which had to cross to Forth, by a bridge so narrow that only two men could march abreast on it. Wallace, who watched the movement from the hills of Cambuskenneth, as soon as about 5,000 horse and foot had crossed, gave the signal of battle; his men rushed down from the heights, and those of the English who had passed the river were slain or drowned. The Treasurer Cresingham, a man odious to the Scots, was among those who fell, and the victors glutted their hate by flaying his body, and using his skin for thongs and saddle-girths.

Revolt of Wallace.

Battle of Stirling.  
A. D. 1297.

Warene was obliged to burn the bridge, retreat rapidly with his forces, and content himself with securing the castles on his route. His retreat was followed by a raid of the Scotch into the northern counties. Wallace was now at the height of his fame, but his good fortune soon after deserted him. Edward's quarrel with Philip was arranged through the mediation of Pope Boniface, and the friendship of the two monarchs was cemented by proposals of marriage between King Edward and Margaret, sister of Philip; and Prince Edward and Isabella, Philip's daughter. The proposal of Philip to include Scotland in the treaty was evaded by Edward, who hastened home, and, after a meeting with his parliament at York, set out for Roxburgh, where De Warene, with a powerful army of 80,000 foot and 8,000 horse awaited him. He moved north, as far as the Forth; but meeting no enemy, and his army suffering from disease and want of provisions, he turned south, and had nearly reached Edinburgh, when he learned that Wallace and his army lay in the woods of Falkirk, ready to harass his retreat. He retraced his steps, and soon after came up with the Scotch, drawn up in battle array. Wallace had arranged his pikemen in four circular bodies, united by lines of archers, and behind all his cavalry. The English knights opened the attack, and rode down the Scotch bowmen; but the circles of pikemen maintained their ground, till the English archers, and missiles from the military engines, broke their formation, when the cavalry rushed in, and completed their destruction. The loss of the Scotch is reckoned at from 20,000 to 40,000 men. Wallace himself escaped, but he seems to have given way to despair, and hastened to resign the title which he bore of guardian of the kingdom of Scotland. This victory laid open to Edward the whole of Scotland, south of the Forth; north of that river, however, the country was practically independent, and a committee, consisting of William, Bishop of St. Andrew's; Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick; and John Comyn, the younger, was appointed to organize the national defence. They took the strong Castle of Stirling, which Edward was unable to succour; but, sensible of their inferiority, they appealed for aid to the courts of Rome and France. They reminded the Pope that Edward sought to annex a realm which had always belonged to the Holy See, and never had owed any superiority to the English crown. The Pope, accordingly, wrote to

Battle of  
Falkirk.  
A. D. 1298.

Edward, proving to him the injustice of his claims, and requesting him to desist from aggression, and set free those natives of Scotland whom he had imprisoned. The Pope finally reserved the settlement of any further claims or controversies between England and Scotland for decision by his own court. The letter was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, under penalty of suspension, was to present it to the king. The letter, when delivered to the king, was read aloud in the presence of the barons, who were indignant at the Pope's interference; but Edward found it prudent to write a conciliatory letter, and to grant a truce to the Scotch, pending his final reply. A parliament was summoned in Lincoln to consider that reply. After some discussion, one hundred and four barons and earls signed an answer, in which they declare that the kings of England have never pleaded, or been bound to plead, respecting any of their temporal rights before any judge, ecclesiastical or civil. Edward, while thus refusing to recognise the Pope's claim to decide the issue between himself and the Scotch, thought it desirable to send his Holiness a long memorial, in which he proves the superiority of his predecessors, from the time of Brute, the grandson of Æneas, to his own time. The Scotch met this document by another equally erudite, in which, making very little of the vaunted Brute and his descendants, the Britons, they proudly traced their own race to Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, who landed in Ireland, and whose descendants possessed themselves of that country. Towards the end both memorials came to real history, and said whatever could be said for their respective sides. But all these arguments proved ultimately of little use; the Pope was engaged in a bitter quarrel with the King of France, whom he excommunicated; and Edward thought the occasion favourable to make peace with Philip. Guienne was restored, Prince Edward was betrothed to Philip's daughter, Isabella; and both kings concluded a treaty of commerce. From this treaty all mention of the claims of Scotland was omitted, but Philip promised to use his good offices on their behalf, on a future occasion.

The Scotch appeal to the Pope, who interferes in their behalf.

Edward and his barons resent the Pope's interference.

Quarrel between the Pope and the King of France.

Edward was now free to complete the subjugation of Scotland. The campaign opened with a disaster to his arms. John de Segrave, whom he had left guardian of that country, was ordered to march with his army to Edinburgh. At Roslin he was surprised by the Scotch,

**Battle of  
Bosham, A. D.  
1296.**

**Treaty of  
peace con-  
cluded with  
Comyn.**

**Capture and  
death of Sir  
William Wal-  
lace, A. D.  
1306.**

under the regent, John Comyn, and Simon Frazer. The English were foraging at the time in three separate divisions, each of which, in turn, was attacked by the whole Scotch army, and successively defeated. The hopes awakened by this victory were, however, doomed to be short-lived. Edward himself soon after crossed the border with a powerful army, and reaching the Forth passed it by a ford, avoiding the bridge which had proved so fatal to Warrene. The Scotch army did not think of resistance, and retired. Edward marched through the country, and at last took up his residence at Dunfermline, where soon after a treaty of peace was concluded between him and Comyn, the regent of Scotland. The terms were: the mutual release of prisoners and hostages; that Comyn, and all who were in arms against the King of England, should, if they submitted before a certain day, escape imprisonment and forfeiture, but should be liable to the king for such sum as he should name for satisfaction and ransom. Several nobles were to leave the country for stated periods, Frazer and Boys to go to the Continent; the Bishop of Glasgow, James, the Lord Stewart, Soules, Graham, and Lindsay, to reside in England for specified times. Wallace, who was also invited to tender his submission and trust to the king's favour and forgiveness, was the only one who rejected the conditions. This obstinacy of the most able and popular of the Scotch patriots troubled the king, who resolved to appeal to the cupidity and treachery of his former friends to get him into his power. In this he was entirely successful; Sir John Menteith seized Wallace in his bed, and transferred him to Sir John Segrave, by whom he was conducted to the king in London. On the day of his arrival he was placed at the bar in Westminster Hall, with a scroll round his head in ridicule of a prediction of his, that he would one day be crowned in Westminster. Five judges were appointed, not to try him, but to pronounce a foregone sentence. On his stating that he was no traitor, inasmuch as he had never acknowledged King Edward's authority, and had violated no fealty, as he had never sworn it, he was cut short by Chief Justice Malor, who bade him be silent and hear his sentence, which was that he be hanged by the neck at Tyburn, then cut down, beheaded; that his entrails be burned, that his head be fixed on London Bridge, and the four quarters of his body hung on gibbets

in the towns of Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Perth. That very day the sentence was executed. Edward now set about settling the Government of Scotland. A council of twenty, ten English and ten Scotch, was appointed to advise the king on the subject. The Duke of Bretagne, the king's nephew, was appointed guardian of the kingdom, which, for the purposes of administration, was divided into four parts—Galloway, Lothian, the Highlands, and the country between the Forth and the mountains. The custom of the Scots was to be entirely abolished, and the laws of King David and his successors to be revised, and where necessary amended.

The success of Edward's wars was purchased at the expense of much treasure, which led to exactions that at one time threatened a revival of the troubles of his father's reign. In 1294, when setting out to recover Guienne, he sent commissioners to search the churches and monasteries, and seize to the king's use, under the name of loans, such monies as might be found in them. Some months later he demanded from the clergy the unprecedented amount of half their lay and ecclesiastical benefices. Resistance was put down with coarse threats. The oppressed clergy appealed to the Pope, who issued an excommunication against persons imposing unlawful burdens on the clergy. The latter were soon after asked for a fifth, and on their refusal were outlawed in a body, and their fees, goods, and chattels all seized by crown officers. The unfortunate clergy were informed by the chief justice of the King's Bench that in the king's courts all men might have justice against them, but they should have justice against no man. But the king's exactions were not confined to the clergy; they became intolerable to all classes, and a spirit of resistance was at last aroused.

Edward's  
oppressive  
taxation.

At the head of the opposition were the two potent nobles—Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the Constable; and Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the Marshal of England. Edward had offered them the command of an expedition destined for Guienne, but they refused, asserting that their duties bound them only to attend the king's person. Edward turning to Bigod, in a violent rage, exclaimed, with an oath, "Sir Earl, you shall go or hang." To which Bigod replied, with the same oath, "Sir King, I will neither go nor hang." The two earls at once departed, and were followed by 1,500 knights. The king himself set sail, leaving his son, Prince Edward,

His exactions from the clergy.

The Earl of Norfolk refuses to go with the King.

**Earls of  
Hereford and  
Warwick  
rouse a spirit  
of resistance  
to the king's  
tyranny.**

assisted by a council, regent in his absence. The two earls set themselves to rouse a spirit of resistance to the king's despotic measures, and forbade the barons of the exchequer to levy the last tax of an eighth, granted by parliament, because it had been voted without the knowledge of themselves or friends. Edward, who was informed of these proceedings, could do nothing, equally unable to return home, or make head against the superior force of France.

**A "peace"  
made be-  
tween the  
barons and  
the Prince  
Regent and  
his Council.**

Under the circumstances, the earls, and a number of prelates, priors, and barons, were invited to meet the prince's council, where, after some discussion, "a peace" was arranged, of which the most important article was the following addition to the charters: "No talliage or aid was to be levied without the consent of the prelates, barons, burgesses, and freemen of the realm; no corn, wool, hides, or other goods, to be seized by the king's officers, without the owner's good-will or assent; nothing was to be henceforth taken on the sack of wool, under the name or pretence of the evil toll." The first of these concessions had been granted in King John's Charter, but was omitted in those of Henry III. and Edward. The instruments embodying these articles, with others, stipulating a pardon for all concerned in them, were, after receiving the signature of the prince and council, forwarded to Edward, in Flanders, who, after much delay, and with great reluctance, affixed his own signature. These great concessions, in spite of the persistent efforts of Edward afterwards to annul or neutralize them, continued on the statute-book at his death, and became the permanent possession of the nation.

**The king  
signs it. A. D.  
1297.**

A tragical incident, carrying in its train of consequences the independence of the kingdom of Scotland, furnished occupation for the last months of Edward's life. Of the former competitors for the Scotch throne, Baliol and Bruce, the representatives at this time were of Baliol, his son, confined in the Tower of London; and John Comyn, his brother-in-law, who had acted as guardian, or Regent of Scotland, from the battle of Falkirk; of Bruce, his grandson, Robert. Between the houses of Bruce and Baliol much rivalry and ill-feeling existed. It happened that the two representatives of the families, the ex-guardian and the young Robert Bruce met by design, or accident, in the town of Dumfries. Bruce invited Comyn to a conference in the choir of the Church of the Minorites. The conversation gradually became warm, when suddenly Bruce drew his

dirk, and plunged it into the breast of Comyn. Rushing to the church door, pale and agitated, he exclaimed to his attendants: "I think I have killed Comyn." "You only *think* so," replied one of them, as they hastened into the church. Comyn, whose uncle, Alexander, had arrived, still breathed, and with care might have lived; but one of Bruce's followers, Sir Thomas Kilpatrick, plunged his dagger into the wounded man's heart. Sir Alexander Comyn, the uncle, was also slain by Sir Christopher Seaton, Bruce's brother-in-law.

Murder of  
Comyn, and  
coronation of  
Robert Bruce.  
A. D. 1306.

Edward, on hearing the news, resolved to avenge the murder of Comyn, and made a vow to that effect at a banquet which he gave to the young nobility, whom he summoned to receive knighthood with his son, Prince Edward. The prince, on making his vow of chivalry, swore he would not sleep two nights in the same bed till he had entered Scotland to execute his father's commands, on which his knight companions applauded, and followed with a similar oath. The king himself conjured the company, that in case of his own death they would keep his body unburied till they had enabled his son to accomplish his vow. The prince and knights departed next day for the north; the king himself followed by easy stages, and reached Carlisle, where his military tenants were summoned to meet him. Bruce, knowing that he put himself beyond all hope of forgiveness by the murder of Comyn, boldly laid claim to the throne, and was crowned at Scone, without opposition. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Edward's lieutenant in Scotland, had received directions to hunt down Bruce and his accomplices. He was very nearly successful; in the woods of Methvin he came upon King Robert and his followers, defeated them, took many prisoners, and would have taken Bruce himself, who was unhorsed, but for the efforts of Seaton, his brother-in-law. The Scotch king was now driven to seek refuge among the lake and mountain country of the Highlands, and later in the island of Rathlin, off the coast of the county Antrim. Old age and disease confined Edward at Carlisle, but he took part in deciding the punishment of such prisoners as were brought in. The severity of the sentences marked his extreme irritation at the new revolt of a people whom he had already twice conquered. The return of Bruce from Rathlin, and several considerable successes, still further annoyed him, and in spite of his weakness he ordered an immediate

Edward's  
last expedi-  
tion against  
Scotland.

Bruce takes  
refuge in the  
island of  
Rathlin.



Death of  
Edward.  
A. D. 1307.

advance of his army into Scotland. The effort was too much. On the fifth day of the march he died at Burgh-on-Sands, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign.

His family.

Edward was twice married: first, to Eleanor of Castile, whose beautiful character won, as it deserved, the whole affection of the king. He followed her bier from Lincoln, where she died, to Westminster, and ordered a memorial cross to be erected wherever it rested during its route. By Eleanor, Edward had four sons and eleven daughters; of these only three survived their father—Edward, his successor; Thomas, Earl of Norfolk; and Edmund, Earl of Kent. The king's second wife was Margaret of France, by whom he had a daughter, who died in her infancy.

His character.

The character of this king compares favourably with the best of his predecessors. To great prudence and judgment he united a spirit of enterprise, and an indomitable resolution to reach his ends, wherever it seemed possible. He had something of his father's quick, choleric temper; but, as in his case, his anger did not last, and, at least, in his earlier years it was quickly disarmed by submission. He had lenity when dealing with those who crossed the projects of his ambition, witness his treatment of David of Wales and Wallace. He possessed, too, the family vice of duplicity, and one of his last acts was to send a deputation to the Pope to get the concessions made to the nation, and which he solemnly swore to observe, secretly annulled.

Expulsion  
of the Jews.

In his reign a great outcry was raised against the Jews. They were charged with many crimes, but especially clipping the coin of the realm. For this great numbers of them were hanged. Edward personally was well-disposed towards them; he sought to convert them to Christianity, and to induce them to follow some other calling than the odious one of usurers. These efforts failed, and under pressure of the continued outcry against them, Edward was compelled, in 1290, to banish all the Jews in England, of every age and sex, to the number of sixteen thousand five hundred and eleven. They were allowed to take with them their money and jewels, and at the Cinque Ports, whence they embarked, royal officers were stationed to protect them from the violence or insults of the mob. But as they put out to sea, the mariners robbed and murdered many of the wretched people. The king, however, ordered all

found guilty of such acts to be brought to condign punishment.

It was not till the time of the Commonwealth that the Jews were again permitted to reside in England.

#### LEGISLATION OF EDWARD I.

The most important feature of the reign of Edward I. was the great activity in legislation, which procured for that prince the title of the English Justinian. Of the numerous statutes passed in his reign some were political, some had for object the preservation of peace and better administration of justice, while others were directed to the acquisition and alienation of real property.

On the conquest of Wales a statute, known as the Statute of Wales, was drawn up, giving to that country a political and legal constitution based on the English model. Statutum Wallie, A.D. 1284.

An ordinance was also issued for the better regulation of the affairs of the Irish government. Among its provisions is one that the justice of Ireland shall not in future have the power to pardon for the death of a man except with the king's permission. Ordinance on the state of Ireland, A.D. 1289.

The Statute of Winchester contained a number of regulations for the preservation of the peace in the counties, such as that surety should be given for lodgers and strangers; that watch and ward should be kept in all cities and boroughs, and that those places beside the high roads where robbers might find refuge should be cleared. The knights appointed to see those regulations carried out were, after a time, called justices of the peace. Statute of Winchester.

The usual form of a gift of land in early times was to a man and the heirs of his body, failing which heirs, the lands returned to the donor or his descendant. But the judges decided that the condition was fulfilled by the birth of an heir, on which the gift became absolute, and the donee alienated it at will. This was thought a hardship by the greater barons, as they thus lost all chance of the land reverting to them on failure of heirs, and accordingly a statute *De Donis Conditionalibus* was passed, which forbade the donee to alienate the inheritance, which thus descended from father to son till failure of issue, when it reverted to the donor or his heirs. This more limited interest in land conferred by the use of the words "to a man and the heirs of his body" was termed an estate tail, from the French verb *tailler*, to cut. Creation of justices of the peace. Estates tail.

This statute, however, was not in operation more than five years before it was virtually repealed by another statute, *Quia Emptores*, which permitted all freemen to alien their lands, provided that the new tenant should owe to the lord the same services as those of the alienor. Alienation of lands forbidden. Alienation permitted.

The statute of mortmain incapacitated all corporations, ecclesiastic and secular, from acquiring real property without permission of the king. The reason was that as "Corporations never die" there was no chance of escheat from failure of heirs, as in the case of individual tenants, and the immediate lord missed, besides, the ordinary feudal gains arising from wardship, marriage, and other incidents. Mortmain.

In the eighteenth year of Edward's reign he issued a writ, *Quo Warranto*, by which an inquiry was instituted into the titles by which Quo Warranto.

each baron held his lands, and into the origin of rights of corporations and individuals alleged to be held by royal charter. But the resistance and discontent awakened by this vexatious proceeding caused the king to stop it.

Jurisdiction  
of the various  
courts de-  
fined.

It was in Edward's reign that the jurisdiction of the Courts of King's Bench, Exchequer, and Common Pleas were distinctively defined; and in like manner the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was sharply marked off, so as to prevent them from adjudicating on temporal rights. They were confined to matters of marriage, wills, tithe payment, defamation, perjury, mortuaries, and the infraction of a public penance.

Condemna-  
tion of the  
judges for  
bribery.

But however admirable these laws and regulations were, there seems to have been a sad want of honest judges to administer them. In 1289, the whole body of judges were apprehended on a charge of bribery, and two only were acquitted.

## EDWARD II.

### CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.	King of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Albert, 1308. Henry VII., 1313. Louis IV.	Philip IV., 1314. Louis X., 1316. Philip V., 1322. Charles IV.	Robert I.	Ferdinand IV., 1312. Alphonso XI.	Clement V., 1314. John XVII.

Commands  
of the late  
king.

Among the commands given by the late king on his death-bed to his son and successor, Prince Edward, were that the latter should prosecute the Scotch war, and carry his father's bones at the head of the army; that he should not permit the return of his favourite, Piers Gaveston, who had already been compelled to abjure the realm, without the permission of parliament; and finally, that he should reserve 32,000 marks out of the money in the treasury for the support of a body of 140 knights in Palestine.

How they  
are obeyed.

The new king made a show of compliance on one point with the commands of his father; he received the homage of the English and Scotch barons, and marched at the head of a powerful army into Scotland. He did not, however, persevere in this course; but on pretence of attending to matters relating to his approaching marriage and coronation he returned to London. He fulfilled no better the other commands; he had his father's remains buried at Westminster, and as to his favourite, Gaveston, he not only recalled him, but did so with such eagerness and

haste that he was joined by him before he had left Scotland. On Gaveston all honours were showered; in his absence he had been created Earl of Cornwall, and received from his royal patron the money which the late king's vow had destined for the support of a body of knights for the Holy War; he was appointed lord chamberlain, affianced to the king's niece, and during the king's absence in France on the occasion of his marriage he was left regent of the kingdom.

Gaveston.

On the king's return with his queen Isabella, daughter of Philip le Bel, King of France, great preparations were made to lend imposing splendour to the coronation, which followed soon after. But at the ceremony, customary and hereditary rights of place and dignity were entirely disregarded, and the place of honour, that of bearing the crown and walking in the procession immediately before the king, was allotted to Gaveston. The indignant barons met three days after at Westminster, and demanded from the king the removal of abuses, and the immediate banishment of the favourite, which after some delay Edward was obliged to consent to. Gaveston sailed from Bristol, having first sworn never to return; but his enemies were surprised to find him turning up immediately after as Lord Deputy in Ireland.

King's marriage.

Indignation of the barons.

Gaveston banished. A. D. 1305.

Soon after the king had to apply to Parliament for a vote, when the Commons took a step, then without precedent, of demanding, as a condition of their contribution, that the king should first grant a petition of grievances which they submitted to him. The petition was referred to an assembly of prelates and barons, summoned for the purpose at Stamford, and on their advice every article of the petition was granted, and the king received in return the grant of a twenty-fifth from his grateful people. On this occasion, too, he obtained what he valued more, permission for his favourite to return and dwell in England, "provided he should demean himself properly." But there was no improvement of demeanour on the part of Gaveston, who soon became as obnoxious as ever to the great body of barons. Their refusal to obey the king's summons to a council at York alarmed Edward, who now prevailed on Gaveston to withdraw from the court into some private place. The king next summoned a parliament to Westminster, which the barons attended, but each accompanied by his armed retainers. Edward saw himself com-

Commons demand redress of grievances, A. D. 1309.

King grants petition of Commons.

Return of Gaveston.

of  
the  
com-  
mittee

er, and was obliged to agree to the committee of twenty-one barons, who, the Ordainers, should have charge of the nation, and rectify the abuses and remove the

the Ordainers in London, started for was joined on his way by Gaveston, whom the commander-in-chief of his army against But Bruce gave him no opportunity of winning and after penetrating as far as the Forth, he shut himself up in Bamborough Castle. The returned to London, where a long list of remedies was presented by the Ordainers. Of these admirable, such as that all purveyance, except the ancient custom, should be abolished; that should not be farmed by foreigners; that all by the king, till his debts were paid, should; that privy seals should not be issued for the of justice; that sheriffs should be men of sufficient to answer for their conduct. But one that Gaveston, for various offences, should for ever be banished from the king's dominions, under penalty of declared a public enemy—distressed Edward more the humiliation and invasion of prerogative than the others; but he was powerless, and after a had to yield to necessity. Gaveston removed to and his exile seemed final and irrevocable; but had the barons time to congratulate themselves on the result of their labours when they learned that Gaveston had once more rejoined the king at York. He determined on other action, and choosing as his ally Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, grandson of the king, and the most powerful subject in the kingdom, under pretence of a tournament, assembled at Lancaster. Lancaster marched to York and thence to the king's camp, but the king had left the latter place a few days before his arrival, and fled to Tynemouth, where the king remained. From Tynemouth he and Gaveston sailed for Scarborough, in whose castle Gaveston took refuge, and the king was pushed on to York, and unfurled the royal banner. Gaveston soon found Scarborough Castle untenable, and surrendered on favourable terms to the king. Under that nobleman's protection he was removed to the Castle of Dedington, near Banbury.

There Pembroke, from a real or pretended desire to visit his countess in the neighbourhood, left his prisoner in charge of his servants. But during the earl's absence, Guy of Warwick overpowered his guards, compelled Gaveston to dress in haste, mounted him on a mule, and carried him to Warwick Castle. Here a meeting of the leaders of the barons was held to decide his fate. To one voice recommending mercy it was replied, "You have the fox now, if you let him go you will have to hunt him again." It was ultimately resolved to put him to death, and in pursuance of the decision he was hurried off to Blacklow Hill and beheaded in presence of the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Surrey. The murder of Gaveston threw the king into the wildest grief, and at first he thought of nothing but vengeance. The formidable array and firm tones of the barons, however, as well as the birth of a son and heir, disposed the king to give ear to pacific overtures, which he ultimately accepted, not only granting a general amnesty, but issuing five hundred individual pardons to those barons concerned in the late troubles.

Murder of  
Gaveston  
A. D. 1312.

The king  
grants an  
amnesty.

Though Edward and Gaveston had made two incursions into Scotland, the prudent tactics of King Robert compelled them to return without seeing an enemy. Meantime the English power was being gradually sapped; castle after castle was retaken by the natives, and at last news reached Edward that the English garrison of Stirling had agreed to surrender if not relieved before a certain day. Edward at once summoned his vassals, and reached Stirling on the eve of the day appointed for surrender.

Bruce, who had with him about 30,000 men, mostly foot soldiers, had omitted no means that could secure victory. He had pits dug which were then concealed by planks strong enough to bear a man on foot, but too weak to sustain a knight on horseback, and of knights was the greatest part of Edward's army. He kept in reserve a body of horsemen to attack the English archers, when, as in the battle of Falkirk, they should make their expected attack on the Scotch squares. Finally, he placed a body of some 1,500 camp followers at a distance to rise at an advanced stage of the battle and assume the appearance and movements of a new army. On the English side former success had generated contempt of Scotch prowess. The great reliance was in the archers and knights; the archers to break the enemy's lines and open passages for

Battle of  
Bannockburn,  
A. D. 1314.

the knights, who were then to rush in and trample the infantry under foot. The battle opened with an incident of good omen to the Scots: King Robert, while riding on a light pony in front of his army, was attacked by an English knight, Henry de Bohun. Bruce, who was only armed with a battle-axe, parried the knight's spear, and then dealt him such a blow that he clove in his skull. The general battle opened with an attack by the English archers, but after a time these were put to complete rout by Bruce's plan of attacking them in flank with a body of men-at-arms. The English knights then rode up to continue the combat, but the treacherous pits threw them into disorder, and overturned many of the riders. At this critical juncture Bruce's camp followers showed their heads above the neighbouring hills, and being mistaken, as they wished to be, for a new Scotch army, the English fled in panic, and all further resistance was over. Great slaughter was made of the fugitives, who, ignorant of the country, fell an easy prey to the natives. The king, with a body of knights, reached the Castle of Dunbar, whence he took ship to England.

The success of the Scotch was hailed as almost a national victory by the people of Ireland. Active negotiations were kept up with the court of Bruce, and it was resolved to make an effort to free Ireland also from the English yoke. A Scotch army of 6,000 men under Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert, landed at Carrickfergus, and were immediately joined by the O'Neil and the men of Ulster. The united forces marched south and defeated Lord Deputy Butler and the Earl of Ulster near Conyers. On the arrival of reinforcements from Scotland, Bruce again pushed south and penetrated to Kildare, where he defeated the English at Arscoll, and again on his return at Kenlys, in Meath. Bruce was crowned King of Ireland, and entered on the exercise of regal functions. The successes of the Scoto-Irish army in the east were, however, balanced by a severe defeat inflicted by Lord Richard Birmingham on Phelim O'Connor, King of Connaught, at the great battle of Athenree. But the arrival of King Robert Bruce with a fresh army raised once more the hopes of Irish patriots. The two brothers took the Castle of Carrickfergus, marched south in the middle of winter, and advanced as far as Limerick. They met no enemy either in advance or retreat, and King Robert soon after returned to his own

Edward  
Bruce lands  
with an army  
in Ireland and  
is crowned  
king of the  
country, A. D.  
1315.

Battle of  
Athenree,  
A. D. 1316.

kingdom. Edward's good fortune did not continue; at a battle at Fagher, near Dundalk, with the English forces under Lord John Birmingham, he was, with the greater part of his forces, slain. His death restored the English power, but the campaign had the effect of drawing attention to the condition of Ireland, and procuring a few measures favourable to the natives. Probably had King Edward the power, a substantial improvement would have been made in the laws and customs regulating the intercourse of the Irish people with the settlers in the Pale; but the Lancastrian faction had again taken arms against the king, because of his favouritism to Hugh Spenser, a young nobleman, and his father, Earl Spenser. Young Spenser had been first presented to the king by Lancaster himself; but his rapid promotion, apparently the merited reward of faithful service, roused the jealousy of the Lords of the Marches, who invaded his territory, captured his castles, and in combination with Lancaster and his followers at the Parliament of Westminster, compelled the king, by a display of force, to banish father and son. But Lancaster's own popularity was on the wane; he was believed to be in traitorous league with the King of Scots, and to his conduct was ascribed the loss of Berwick. An incident hastened his downfall. One of his partisans, Lord Badlesmere, had been entrusted with the royal Castle of Ledes, but on the queen on her way to Canterbury desiring to rest there for the night, she was refused admittance. Stung by the insult, the king marched against the place, took it, hanged the governor and eleven of his knights, and imprisoned the Lady Badlesmere. This vigorous act was generally approved; the king's friends rallied, and Edward found himself in a position to face his enemies. At Boroughbridge Lancaster and his forces were intercepted by the royalists; Hereford was slain, and Lancaster and a great number of knights were made prisoners. Lancaster was conducted to the Castle of Pontefract, and after a formal trial was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and beheaded.

Battle of Fagher and death of Edward Bruce.

King takes Ledes Castle.

Battle of Boroughbridge, A. D. 1322.

Execution of Lancaster, A. D. 1322.

Charles le Bel had ascended the French throne, and for some reason seemed bent on provoking hostilities with the King of England. To make peace, Queen Isabella paid a visit to her brother's court, taking with her the young Prince Edward, to do homage to the French King on behalf of his father. But time passed, and neither wife

The queen and Prince of Wales go over to France.



nor son returned to England. She was found to have taken up her abode at the court of William, Count of Hainault, between whose daughter, Philippa, and her son Prince Edward she arranged a marriage. Here Isabella was surrounded by a small body of discontented barons, at their head Roger Mortimer, one of those taken at Boroughbridge, but who, by bribery, had managed to escape. Here a plan was matured for invading England, deposing the king, and conferring the royal authority on the prince, his son. The influence of the favourites, whose iniquitous sentence the king, as soon as he dared, repealed, was made the ostensible cause of this invasion. The king and his favourites must, however, have been very unpopular, for the queen and her friends were received as saviours of the country. Even the king's own brother, Edmund, Earl of Kent, joined her camp. The king, finding no support, fled to Wales, and embarked for the island of Lundy. Meantime the queen's forces laid siege to Winchester, defended by the elder Spenser. He surrendered on the third day, and though over ninety years of age, such was the rancour of his enemies that he was at once condemned and executed. Soon after the younger Spenser and the king were taken. The king's fate was deferred, and for the time he was confined in Kenilworth Castle; but Spenser the younger suffered immediate punishment. He was hanged on a gallows fifty feet high, amid the jeers of the populace. At the ensuing parliament at Westminster the king was formally deposed, and the sceptre entrusted to the hands of his son, Prince Edward, then in his fourteenth year.

The Queen  
and Mortimer  
invade Eng-  
land, A. D.  
1326.

Execution  
of the Spen-  
sers.

The king a  
captive.  
He is de-  
posed.

His murder,  
A. D. 1327.

Character of  
the king.

The dethroned king was now rapidly moved from castle to castle: from Kenilworth to Corfe, from Corfe to Bristol, and thence to Berkely, where his troubled career reached its tragic close by a horrid and secret death. No inquiry was instituted, and the body was buried in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, in Gloucester.

Edward was a prince of mild character, rather indolent and much addicted both to the pleasures of the table and the chase. He seems to have been in no way deficient in personal courage; but his ruinous devotion to favourites points to a want of clear understanding. He never realised the magnitude of the danger that threatened him, and consequently never took adequate and timely precautions.

Besides Prince Edward, who succeeded him, he left three

other children—John, Earl of Cornwall; Jane, married to the King of Scots; and Eleanor, married to the Duke of Gueldres.

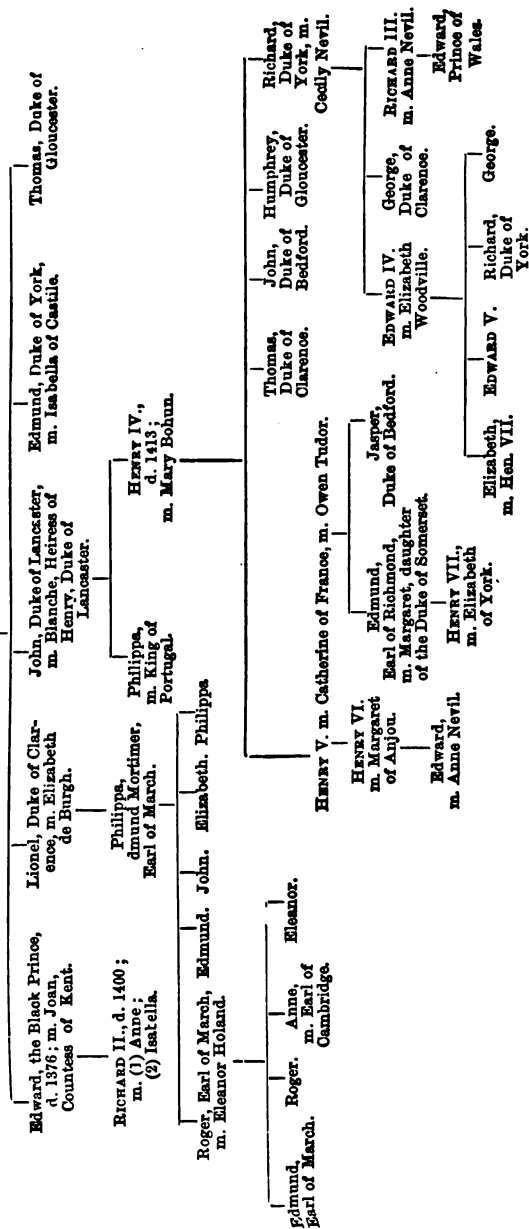
His family.

In this reign was suppressed the famous order of Knights Templars, established by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in the year 1118. They took upon them the duty of watching the roads approaching the city, and of protecting pilgrims from insult and robbery. After they had been expelled from Palestine they possessed rich establishments in most Christian countries. But in time reports charging the order with various wicked practices obtained circulation. They were denounced to Pope Clement V. by Philip le Bel, and that monarch, impatient of delay, ordered the arrest of all Templars in his dominions. In England and Ireland they were all likewise arrested in one day and committed to custody. The process against them lasted three years. At length the Pope, after having had all the evidence submitted to him at the Council of Vienne, issued a bull suppressing the order, but only as a measure of expediency, and not as implying the establishment of their guilt. The property of the order was assigned to the Knights Hospitallers. The residence of the Templars in London was in 1313 handed over to the students of the law, who still retain it.

Suppression  
of Knights  
Templars.  
A. D. 1312.

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EDWARD III.,  
m. Philippa of Hainault.



## EDWARD III.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.	Kings of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Louis IV., 1347. Charles IV.	Charles IV., 1328. Philip VI., 1350. John, 1364. Charles V.	Robert I., 1329. David II., 1370. Robert II.	Alphonso XI., 1350. Pedro, 1368. Henry II.	John XXII., 1334. Benedict XII., 1342. Clement VI., 1352. Innocent VI., 1362. Urban V., 1370. Gregory XI.

After the murder of the king, an act of indemnity was passed by parliament for all those implicated in the recent revolution, the former award against the Spensers was re-enacted, and their lands, with the title of Earl of March, went to aggrandise Mortimer. A council of fourteen members, four bishops, four earls, and six barons, was appointed, but they were for the most part Mortimer's creatures.

The first serious danger that menaced the new government came from the King of Scots. That monarch thought the occasion favourable to extort from the young King of England a solemn renunciation of those claims to superiority advanced by his father and grandfather. The English government, unprepared for hostilities, proposed negotiations; but the firmness of the Scotch demands would yield to no compromise, and the English at the same time being unwilling to grant them, a Scotch army under Randolph and Douglas entered and ravaged Cumberland. An English force went to oppose them, but lost much time before it could find the enemy. At last the Scotch set free an English prisoner, Thomas Rokesby, to lead the King of England to where they were encamped. Edward found his enemy on the summit of a mountain on the right bank of the Wear. Neither army ventured to cross the river in the face of the other. After watching each other for three days the Scotch made off, and took up a still more difficult position on a neighbouring mountain. Edward's army took up its position opposite; but in the middle of the night Douglas passed the river with two hundred followers and attacked the English camp, threw it into confusion.

Campaign in  
Durham  
against the  
Scots, A. D.  
1327.

**Douglas surprises English camp.**

slew about three hundred men, and then retired to his own army with little loss. Under cover of this attack, the Scotch army crossed the Wear and marched for Scotland. Their greater agility, as well as the start of thirty miles which they had, made it hopeless to pursue, and the English army turned south and was disbanded at York.

**Treaty with Bruce.**

This campaign was followed by a treaty deemed by the English no less inglorious. By the queen and Mortimer a marriage was proposed between David, only son of King Robert Bruce, and Jane, sister of King Edward. At a parliament, which met at York, Edward renounced all claims of himself or successors to superiority over the crown of Scotland. Thus a treaty of perpetual peace between the kingdoms was drawn up and ratified both in the English and Scotch parliaments.

**Execution of Earl of Kent, A.D. 1339.**

These terms were, however, very displeasing to the English people, who ascribed them to Mortimer rather than the king, who as yet had no will of his own. No court favourite had ever ventured on so bold a course as this nobleman. He superseded the king's council, filled the court with his creatures, and the land with his spies; he was not more hated than dreaded. By way of striking terror into his enemies he had the king's uncle, Edmund, Earl of Kent, arraigned for treason, convicted, and executed. But his own time was approaching; the young king, now in his eighteenth year, had resolved to emancipate himself from the state of dependence in which he had been kept. A plot was laid between the king, Lord Montacute, and Sir William Eland, Governor of Nottingham Castle. It was arranged that when, during the session of parliament at Nottingham, the queen and Mortimer should occupy the castle, a body of knights should be admitted by Eland through a secret passage. This plan succeeded. Mortimer was seized in the midst of his council and secured. No heed was paid to Isabella's appeals, "Sweet son, fair son, spare my gentle Mortimer." He was charged with fomenting dissension between the queen and her late husband, with procuring the death of the late king, with treacherously compassing the death of the Earl of Kent, and with embezzlement of the royal treasures. He was found guilty of all the charges, and sentenced "to be drawn and hanged as a traitor and enemy of the king and kingdom." The sentence was carried into execution at Tyburn, which reckons Mortimer

**Mortimer surprised in Nottingham Castle, A. D. 1339.**

**He is hanged at Tyburn.**

the first on its long roll of victims. The queen was confined for life in her manor of Risings, with an income reduced to £3,000. Here she lived for twenty-seven years with nothing to break the dull obscurity of her existence except an annual visit of ceremony from the king.

From the close relations that had formerly existed between England and Scotland, many nobles had lands in both countries. During the war the estates of their enemies were seized by their respective monarchs; but at the treaty of peace it was hoped that these would be restored. Applications with that object having failed, those English barons who laid claim to lands in Scotland placed themselves under the leadership of Edward Baliol, son and heir of John Baliol, dethroned by Edward I., resolved to win them back with the sword. They embarked to the number of about 3,000 men at Ravenspur, on the Humber, and landed at Kinghorn, in Fife. Baliol, in spite of the smallness of his force, attacked in the night the Earl of Mar, stationed at Dupplin Moor, with a force of 40,000. The English gained a complete victory, and the Earl of Mar himself, and many barons and knights of the Scotch army, were slain. Baliol, after the battle, hastened to Perth, closely pursued by the Earl of March. The Scotch commander determined to reduce him by famine, and with that view, besides investing Perth by land, blockaded it by sea. But Baliol's ships destroyed the Scotch fleet, and discouragement spread through the besieging army, which gradually broke up. Baliol's extraordinary good fortune won to his standard some of the old friends of his family, and in a little time he was crowned at Scone by the Bishop of Dunkeld. A suspension of hostilities was then proposed and agreed to pending the meeting of the states to arrange the affairs of the kingdom; but during the armistice Baliol, who had dismissed most of his English followers, was attacked at Annan by the Earl of Moray, and chased in a pitiful plight into England, after a brief reign of three months.

Edward  
Baliol invades  
Scotland,  
A.D. 1332.

Baliol crowned  
at Scone,  
A.D. 1333.

Edward had regretted the article in the Scotch treaty by which all claim to superiority over the crown of that country had been renounced, and sought by every means to have it cancelled. Baliol had agreed to hold Scotland as a fief of England, and to surrender Berwick and other territories; but his expulsion deprived these arrangements of effect. Some incursions into the northern counties

Battle of  
Halidon Hill,  
A.D. 1233.

offered Edward a pretext for declaring the treaty broken, and hostilities began with the siege of the town and castle of Berwick. These were gallantly defended; but the Scotch army, which marched to their relief, was defeated by the English with great slaughter at Halidon Hill.

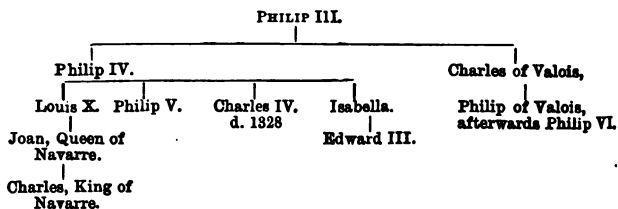
Baliol sur-  
renders Ber-  
wick and  
south-eastern  
counties to  
England.

This victory placed Baliol once more on the throne, but he had to purchase his elevation, not only by the acknowledgment of Edward's claims as superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, but by ceding to the English monarch the fortress of Berwick and the greater part of the south-eastern counties, which were declared to be permanently annexed to the English crown. Edward's claims were admitted without opposition by a parliament summoned at Edinburgh, but the patriotism of the Scotch people was roused by the dismemberment of their country. A new regent was appointed, and as soon as the English forces withdrew the nation revolted from Baliol, and returned to its allegiance to Bruce. A new invasion by Edward could not recover the country for Baliol; the Scotch, not venturing on a pitched battle, retired before the invading army, which was soon compelled by want of provisions to return to England. During these trials the courage of the Scotch was sustained by promises of assistance from France, then on the eve of a war with England.

Edward in-  
vades Scot-  
land, A. D.  
1236.

Edward  
claims the  
crown of  
France, A. D.  
1239.

The cause of that war was a preposterous claim by Edward to the French crown, on the ground of being next in blood to the last king, Charles IV., or the Fair. The three maternal uncles of the English king, Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV., who had reigned in succession, had all died without male issue, and as females were excluded by the Salic law, the crown devolved on the next heir-male, Philip of Valois, grandson of Philip III., surnamed the Hardy. The accompanying table will present these relations, and the claims founded on them, in a clearer light:—



Edward was obliged to admit: 1, that females could not

inherit, as if they could it would have descended to Joan, Queen of Navarre, as the daughter of the eldest brother; 2, that the male issue of females might inherit: for this was his own position; but in conceding this he destroyed his own pretension, for Charles of Navarre had a prior claim, as sprung from an elder branch; 3, he was obliged to maintain that, while the succession was confined to males, it was decided by the proximity of blood, a point in which he had the advantage of his competitor, as he was related to the late King Charles IV. in the second, and Philip only in the third degree of consanguinity. If, however, as the law clearly was, females could neither inherit the crown themselves nor transmit a claim to it to their descendants, Philip, as the nearest descendant through the male line, was clearly the rightful heir.

Examination  
of Edward's  
claim.

It is probable that the countenance lent to the cause of the young King David Bruce, and which greatly provoked the English king, concurred with this shadowy claim in deciding him to enter on hostilities. He began by concluding alliances with various continental princes, the Emperor of Germany, Louis of Bavaria, the Duke of Brabant, the Count of Hainault, and others. He took into his favour and confidence the celebrated Von Artaveldt, the democratic brewer of Ghent, then all-powerful in Flanders. Among Philip's allies were the Kings of Navarre and Bohemia, the Dukes of Bretagne, Austria and Lorraine, and several petty German princes.

Edward seeks  
allies.

With the English parliament the king's enterprise was popular, in spite of the pressure put on the nation to raise the necessary supplies. In the summer of 1338 he sailed from the Orwell, with a numerous fleet, and landed at Antwerp; but it was not till September of 1339 that he found himself able to open the campaign, by leading an army of 15,000 men to the French borders and laying waste the territory from Bapaume to St. Quentin and Peronne. But his allies dropping off, and Philip, on the advice of his council, declining battle, Edward was compelled to retreat to Brussels, having accomplished nothing and spent a vast amount of treasure. An attempt of the Pope to dissuade the English king from his unjust aggression proved ineffectual, and Edward hastened to England for fresh supplies and to prepare for another campaign. The popular enthusiasm responded with alacrity to his appeal, and he received the unprecedented grant of the

King sails  
for Antwerp.  
A.D. 1338.

Ravages the  
French border.  
A.D.  
1339.



ninth lamb, ninth fleece, ninth sheep, with a further duty on the exportation of wool for two years.

Naval victory off Sluys.  
A.D. 1340.

An attempt of the French monarch to intercept the English king on his return to the Continent by means of a powerful fleet of Norman and Genoese vessels stationed in the harbour of Sluys, failed. Edward, learning the intentions of the enemy, collected all the ships he could and resolved to give them battle. The engagement was long and sanguinary, but it ended in the complete destruction of the French fleet. So great was the loss that it is said the French ministers dared not speak of it to their master. Edward landed on the following morning, and soon found himself at the head of 200,000 men, with whom he resolved to lay siege to the towns of Tournay and St. Omer. This immense host, however, by surprises and panic had greatly diminished, and the town of Tournay, which the king himself besieged, was so resolutely defended by an army of 30,000 men, that he readily accepted an armistice of nine months, afterwards prolonged for another year. The interval was again seized by the Pope to bring about a lasting peace, but with no better success than before. Edward availed himself of the occasion to rush over to England, where he dismissed his council and got involved in a quarrel with the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he sought to prevent from entering the House of Lords. The archbishop protested against such an outrage offered to the first peer of the realm; the whole body of the peerage united in his protest, and the king had to yield.

The Pope attempts mediation.

The king's necessities were known to be urgent, and lords, clergy, and commons determined, before granting a supply, to procure the redress of their respective grievances. The petitions were readily granted, published in form of a charter, and signed with the great seal. But Edward had, with the usual duplicity of his race, previously signed another paper, in which he declared that what he had thus conceded from necessity he would afterwards revoke when he thought necessary. He afterwards, in a circular letter to the sheriffs, did annul and revoke these concessions, unblushingly avowing that, under the circumstances, it was his duty to dissemble.

The king grants petitions of parliament, but afterwards annuls the grant.

Contested succession in Bretagne,  
A.D. 1343.

A contested succession to the Duchy of Bretagne drew Edward once more to France. John III., Duke of Bretagne, had no issue of his own, but he had three brothers—Guy, Peter, and John, Earl of Montfort. Guy and Peter died

before John, but Guy had left a daughter, Jane, who married Charles of Blois, nephew to the King of France. This daughter was the lawful heiress to the duchy, for the exclusion of females from the crown of France did not apply to fiefs of that crown, such as Bretagne. On the death of the duke, his surviving brother, John, Earl of Montfort, laid claim to the succession, and seized the treasures and principal fortresses. The peers of France, to whom the cause was referred, decided for Charles of Blois, in right of his wife; but Montfort did not accept the decision, and a war commenced, in which the latter, aided by Edward, contended with Charles, backed by the power of the King of France. A romantic interest was shed over the campaign by the heroic defence of the castle of Hennebion by the Countess of Montfort, who, on horseback and in armour, encouraged and directed the efforts of the garrison. She was relieved just in time by the arrival of an English force under Sir Walter Manny. Edward himself followed soon after, but did nothing, and a truce of three years and eight months was soon after concluded between him and the French king, through the mediation of two cardinals sent by the Pope for the purpose. But long before that term had expired mutual provocations had involved both nations again in war. An English force, under the Earl of Derby, was highly successful in Guienne. Among other brilliant achievements was the relief of the garrison of Auberoche, when the earl, with about nine hundred men, surprised the French camp, and slew, captured, or dispersed an army of twelve thousand men. During this fortunate progress Edward sailed to Sluys, to urge on the Flemish deputies the transference of their allegiance from their own earl, who was a friend of Philip, to his own son Edward. Artaveldt undertook to have the proposal accepted, and succeeded in some places; but at Ghent he had no sooner entered his house than a fierce mob surrounded it, forced open the doors, and murdered him. Edward thereupon returned to England, where he occupied himself in preparing another expedition. With this he sailed from Southampton to La Hogue, and after ravaging on his way, reached Rouen, where he found the bridge over the Seine broken, and the King of France, with his army, on the other side. After much manoeuvring along the banks, Edward managed to outwit the French king, and, repairing one of the broken bridges, transferred his

The Countess  
of Montfort.

Battle of  
Auberoche,  
A.D. 1246.

Assassination  
of Jacob von  
Artaveldt,  
A.D. 1246.

Battle of  
Crecy, A. D.  
1346.

army to the other side. He then rapidly retired towards Flanders, crossed the Somme by a ford, and awaited the attack of the enemy at Crecy. The English army is set down at about 40,000, of whom 10,000 were archers, and 16,000 Irish and Welsh infantry. The strength of the French army is variously set down at 60,000 and 100,000 men.

The English army was drawn up in three divisions: the right under the nominal command of the Prince of Wales; the left under the Earl of Northampton; and the third, a reserve, under the command of the king.

The French army advanced in a very disorderly manner, which it was impossible at the time to remedy. In its ranks was a body, variously estimated at from six to fifteen thousand, of Genoese cross-bowmen, under their famous leaders, Doria and Grimaldi. These were supported by a splendid body of knights, under the command of the Duke D'Alençon, the king's brother; behind them came the rest of the army, in four divisions, commanded by the king in person.

The battle opened with an attack by the Genoese cross-bowmen; but the strings of their bows had been relaxed by the rain, which had fallen in torrents, and they were unable to hold their ground against the English archers, whose arrows fell, it is said, like snow. D'Alençon and his knights, furious at the flight of the Genoese, cut several of them down, thereby increasing the confusion. The battle next closed fiercely round the division of the Prince of Wales, and Sir Thomas Norwich was despatched to request succour from the king. Edward, who, from a windmill, watched the fortunes of the day, asked whether the prince were slain or dangerously wounded, and on being informed that he was neither, answered: "Tell Warwick that he shall have no assistance. Let the boy win his spurs. He, and those who have him in charge, shall earn the whole glory of the day." D'Alençon and his knights, failing to break down the English resistance in front, attempted to turn their flank; but the narrow pass through which they had to advance to effect this was blocked with carts, behind which was a body of archers, who committed great havoc. The battle was lost to the French; D'Alençon and a vast number of nobles and knights were slain, and Philip, who had been wounded in two or three places, and had his horse killed under him, was at last induced to seek safety in retreat. He reached Amiens, with an escort of five

barons and sixty knights. Edward, when the victory was assured, rushed to embrace the prince, to whom he exclaimed: "Fair son, continue your career. You have behaved nobly; you have shown yourself worthy of me and the crown." The French loss in this battle amounted, it is said, to 30,000 men, among whom were eleven princes and twelve hundred knights. The most elevated in rank among the slain was the blind King of Bohemia, who directed the knights attending him to lead him into the battle, "that I, too," said he, "may have a blow at the English." His motto, "Ich dien" (I serve), was adopted by the Prince of Wales, and has since been always borne by his successors.

A short time before the battle of Crecy, King David of Scotland invaded the northern counties. At Nevil's Cross he was met by an English army, and a battle commenced, in which the Scotch were entirely defeated; their bravest knights were slain by the showers of arrows from the English archers, and their king, David, after being twice wounded, was taken prisoner, and confined in the Tower.

Battle of  
Nevil's Cross,  
A. D. 1296,  
King David a  
prisoner.

Edward was desirous of possessing a seaport on the French coast, and with that object he made preparations for the siege of Calais. A town of huts for the English soldiers sprung up round the walls, on observing which De Vienne, the governor, knew that Edward was resolved on reducing the place by famine. He at once sent out of the town all useless mouths, or all who had not provisions for several months. These, to the number of 1,700, passed through the English camp, and were kindly treated; but a second batch of 500 was not allowed to pass, and perished miserably between the besiegers' camp and the walls of the town. After a siege of twelve months, and the failure of an attempt to relieve it by Philip, Calais surrendered. Edward, who appeared greatly incensed against the inhabitants, was at length prevailed on to spare the remainder, on condition that six of the principal citizens were sent to him for execution. Who should thus be sacrificed for the rest was a most embarrassing question, till Eustace St. Pierre broke silence, and volunteered to die for the safety of his fellow-citizens. The enthusiasm, kindled by this devoted example, rapidly brought forth five others; and these six, after a solemn parting from their friends, marched slowly, with halters in their hands, to the English camp. Edward received them angrily, and sent for the executioner;

Siege of  
Calais.

Surrender  
of Calais,  
A. D. 1347.

but at length yielded to the intercession of his queen, Philippa, who took charge of the prisoners, and after treating them to a welcome repast, presented each with a small sum of money.

**Armistice  
for six years.**

After the fall of Calais, through the interposition of the Holy See, an armistice was agreed to, which, though at first only for some months, was gradually extended to a period of six years.

**Attempt to  
bribe the  
Governor of  
Calais.**

During the armistice an attempt was made by De Chargny, the French governor of St. Omer, to bribe Amerigo of Pavia, an Italian, whom Edward had made Governor of Calais. Amerigo informed the king, and it was agreed to accept the bribe, and catch the French in their own plot. Accordingly, at the appointed hour, a messenger from St. Omer came, and paid the money, 20,000 crowns, and at night twelve French knights and a hundred men-at-arms were admitted by a back gate. These were at once made prisoners; and Chargny, who had followed in expectation of being admitted into the fortress, found himself vigorously attacked by Sir Walter Manny, and after a gallant resistance compelled to surrender. The king fought as a private knight under the banner of Sir Walter, and selected for his opponent a valiant French knight, Sir Eustace de Ribeaumont. Edward, though twice brought to his knees, succeeded in making Ribeaumont his prisoner. When all had entered the castle Edward disclosed himself, and invited the French knights to sup with them. After supper Edward, rising from the table, took a chaplet of pearls from his own head and placed it on the temples of Ribeaumont, to whom he adjudged the prize of valour in the morning's combat.

**The Black  
Prince in-  
vades and  
lays waste  
the south of  
France, A.D.  
1355.**

Edward, who, in spite of his success, saw how impossible it was for him to win the French crown, expressed his willingness to enter into a permanent peace, on condition that he should hold as sovereign those provinces which he had hitherto held as vassal of the French king. But this proposal, though at first entertained, was ultimately rejected; and on the expiration of the truce Edward arranged with the Black Prince a new invasion of France. The latter, with an army of 60,000 men, plundered and laid waste the whole country from Bordeaux to the Pyrennees; then, turning north, continued his devastating march to the walls of Toulouse. In this terrible campaign more than five hundred cities, towns, and villages, in a prosperous and

peaceful country, were laid in ashes. Meantime, King Edward had landed in Calais with a large army; but the French king had laid waste the country before them, so that in less than ten days after their departure from Calais they re-entered it, driven back by want of provisions. An incursion of Scots, who captured Berwick, recalled the king to England, where he collected a force, with which he marched north, retook Berwick, and then advanced into the Lothians, where, meeting no enemy, he divided his troops into small bodies, with directions to burn all houses, villages, and towns in their way. This destructive invasion was long remembered by the Scotch as "the burned Candlemas."

Burned Candlemas, A.D. 1255.

In the following year the famous battle of Poitiers was fought. The Prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of his last campaign, had undertaken another expedition of plunder and devastation in the rich provinces of Querey, Limousin, Auvergne, and Berri. At Maupertuis, near Poitiers, he fell in with a much more numerous French army, commanded by King John in person, and the danger of his situation drew from him the exclamation, "God help us; it only remains for us to fight bravely." The prince's army is variously stated at from 8,000 to 12,000 men; that of King John at 60,000. But the smallness of the English force was balanced by the advantageous nature of the position on which it was drawn up—a rising ground of vineyards, intersected by hedges, and which could only be reached at one point through a long narrow lane, admitting at its widest not more than four horsemen abreast.

Battle of Poitiers, A.D. 1356.

The English archers lined the hedgeways between the French army and their own main body. Trenches and barricades of waggons had also been constructed.

The French army was arranged in three divisions on a moor in front of the English. The king himself commanded one, the Duke of Orleans another, and the king's sons a third.

The battle opened with the advance of the two French marshals and their cavalry into the laneway, so as to reach the English main position; but before they had proceeded far the arrows from the archers behind the hedges filled up the narrow way with dying men and horses, so that it was impossible to advance. The knights who were able to escape joined the second division, which itself soon after gave way. Those who had charge of the young French

princes had sent them off with an escort of eight hundred men; the departure of so large a body was mistaken for flight, the panic spread, and the whole second division broke and fled. King John still held his ground; but the English army, now secure of victory, moved on to the moor, and attacked the division which he commanded. The French monarch, who fought on foot, after receiving two wounds, and being beaten to the ground, was made prisoner, and delivered to Prince Edward. His son, Philip, was made prisoner at the same time. The English prince, having made a truce for two years with the dauphin as regent of France, set out with his prisoners for Bordeaux, whence he sailed for England, and landed at Sandwich. From Sandwich he proceeded by easy stages to London. Splendid preparations had been made for the reception of the prince and his royal captives: arches were flung over the streets, the windows were decorated, the streets were lined with spectators, and the Lord Mayor and a thousand principal citizens, with appropriate banners, set out to meet the procession. Edward courteously sought to avoid anything that might annoy the French monarch. He himself rode on a small pony beside King John, who was mounted on a splendid white charger. The French king and his son were lodged first in the palace of the Savoy, and afterwards in Windsor. Edward had thus in his power at the same time the kings of the two countries to whose crowns he had aspired, but which he now perceived he could not hope to win. He accordingly soon after entered into negotiations with David, King of Scotland, for his release, and, after much discussion, it was agreed that he should be liberated on the Scots undertaking to pay an annual sum of 6,000 marks, to be continued for a period of twenty-five years, during which there should exist a truce between the two nations.

The French king is conveyed to London.

King David of Scotland is released.

John accepts Edward's terms, but the French people reject them.

The terms exacted from the King of France were more severe; Edward demanded in return for his renunciation of all claim to the French crown that all the possessions which had formerly belonged to his ancestors should be restored, and that he should hold them in full sovereignty, without any dependence on the crown of France. After much delay and hesitation John accepted the terms, but the French people indignantly refused to ratify the engagements of their king. Edward complained of having been deceived, and set out once more for France with a large army. He penetrated as far as Rheims, to which city he

laid siege, intending when he had taken it to have himself crowned as King of France. But the gallant defence of the inhabitants, headed by the archbishop, compelled him, after the lapse of seven weeks, to give up the attempt, and march into Burgundy. At this time England was thrown into consternation by a French fleet, which swept the channel, and took and pillaged the town of Winchelsea.

Edward  
again invades  
France, A.D.  
1359.

From Burgundy, Edward marched north, following the course of the Seine, and planted his banners before the walls of Paris. An attempt on the part of the papal legates to open negotiations failed, and Edward, whose provisions were beginning to fail, after burning the suburbs, raised the siege, and marched for Bretagne. During this retreat a great many men perished of hunger and fatigue, and a dreadful storm, which overtook them in the neighbourhood of Chartres, and by which thousands perished, brought home so powerfully to the king the wickedness of his ambition that, stricken by remorse, he sprang from the saddle, threw himself on his knees, and with arms extended towards the cathedral, vowed to God and the Blessed Virgin that he would never again reject terms of peace compatible with his honour. The king's vow prepared the way for negotiation; on the 7th May, 1360, an armistice was agreed, and on the following day the treaty, known as the "Great Peace," was signed at Bretigni.

By its terms Edward resigned all claim to the French crown, as also to the ancient possessions of his family, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine; he restored all his conquests, except Calais and Guisnes, but retained Poitou and Guienne, and Ponthieu, the inheritance of his mother. On the part of the dauphin, it was agreed that Edward should possess in full sovereignty the territories assigned him in the treaty; that a ransom of three million crowns should be paid for the king within six years; and that twenty-five peers, forty-two burghers, and sixteen of the prisoners taken at Poitiers, should be hostages to Edward for the fulfilment of the treaty.

The Peace  
of Bretigni,  
called the  
Great Peace,  
A.D. 1360.

King John, who had been all this time in captivity, was immediately liberated; but he found it impossible to pay the ransom at the rate stipulated in the treaty. His honour was not doubted, but it was suspected that the dauphin threw difficulties in the way of the full execution of the treaty. It happened that some princes of the royal family of France, who had been made prisoners with the king,

King John  
returns to  
England,  
where he  
dies.



obtained a conditional permission to visit their homes. Among them was the king's son, the Duke of Anjou, who broke his parole by setting out for Paris without waiting for the specified condition, the surrender of certain castles to the English king. This breach of honour shocked his father, who returned to London to exculpate himself from any connivance at his son's conduct. Edward received him kindly; but he died soon after his arrival, leaving the crown to his son, Charles, the dauphin.

Battle of  
Najora, A. D.  
1367.

It was at this time that the Black Prince destroyed whatever of good repute remained to him, by his warm reception of, and alliance with, Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile. This monster had been compelled to fly from an enraged people, who placed on the throne his brother, Don Enrique. The Black Prince espoused the cause of the expelled tyrant, and on the field of Najora defeated the army of Don Enrique and restored Pedro to the throne. But the expense which he had incurred, and which Pedro would not, or could not repay, imposed on the prince the necessity of oppressively taxing his French possessions—a proceeding against which his subjects appealed to the French king. Charles acted cautiously; but, on receiving a promise of support from Don Enrique, who had regained the Castilian throne by slaying Don Pedro in an accidental encounter, he summoned the Prince of Aquitaine to answer the charges against him. Young Edward vaingloriously replied that he would obey, but at the head of sixty thousand men. The English possessions were at once invaded by French troops, and in a few years nothing remained of them but a portion of Guienne. Edward, however, did not permit these things to take place without resistance. The Earl of Derby, now Duke of Lancaster, landed at Calais with an army, while considerable reinforcements were sent to the Black Prince, in the south. The army of the Duke of Lancaster effected nothing, except the pillage of the country, as the French studiously avoided coming to a pitched battle, but were careful to secure the towns and fortresses. The Prince of Wales, now seriously weakened by disease, laid siege to the town of Limoges, which had surrendered to the French. In the course of a month a breach was made, the English soldiers burst into the town, and, in response to heart-rending appeals for mercy from the helpless people, who flung themselves at the feet of the prince, that "flower of chivalry" issued orders for a promiscuous massacre of the

Capture of  
Limoges.

Slaughter of  
the inhabitants,  
A. D.  
1370.

whole population. "Upwards of three thousand men, women, and children," says Froissart, "were slaughtered. God have mercy on their souls! for they were veritable martyrs."

Don Enrique rendered good service to his French ally by stationing a Spanish fleet at Rochelle, to intercept the reinforcements forwarded from England, under the Earl of Pembroke. An obstinate engagement of two days ended in the total destruction of the English fleet, not one sail of which escaped.

The Spanish fleet destroys the English fleet off Rochelle, A. D. 1372.

The series of disasters in France, where there now remained to England only Calais, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and a few smaller places, disposed Edward to accept a truce, which was prolonged from time to time till his death.

During his latter years he left the reigns of government very much in the hands of his son, the Duke of Lancaster. The king himself fell under the sway of Alice Perrers, who had been a lady-in-waiting to his deceased queen, Philippa.

Lancaster was very unpopular, and his government was impeached by the parliament known as the "Good," and several of its members imprisoned or dismissed. An ordinance was also passed by their influence, forbidding "any woman," and "in particular Alice Perrers," from pursuing actions for hire and reward in the king's courts. The Black Prince had been the main support of the Good Parliament, and on his death, in 1376, their adversaries wreaked their vengeance on those of its members who had been prominent in their efforts at reform. Sir Peter de la Mere, the speaker, was imprisoned in the castle of Nottingham, and the chancellor, William of Wickham, was condemned to lose his temporalities, and remain at a distance of twenty miles from the king's person.

Good Parliament.

Death of the Black Prince, A. D. 1376.

Edward himself took little or no interest in these quarrels; he lived in privacy at Eltham, whence he removed to Shene, where he died in 1377, the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign.

Death of the King, A. D. 1377.

By his wife, Philippa, he had seven sons and five daughters, of whom three sons—John, Duke of Lancaster; Edmund, Duke of York; and Thomas, Duke of Gloucester; and one daughter, survived him.

The brilliant successes that attended the arms of Edward and his son have made his reign a subject of pride to suc-

His character.

cessive generations of Englishmen. And though these successes seem fairly ascribable to military skill rather than blind good fortune, yet it is impossible to rate very highly the capacity of the monarch, who, instead of extracting from them any lasting advantage, found himself, after the waste of endless blood and treasure, in a much worse position than when he began. One great advantage his military ambition had was in making him more dependent on the people, and so the more disposed, of necessity, to remove their grievances, in the hope of readier and more abundant supplies. The proceedings of the Good Parliament had shown what advances the Commons had made towards their proper functions as censors of government.

The Black Death, A. D. 1348.

It was in this reign that the terrible pestilence known as the Black Death visited Europe. Passing from the far east, it moved over Asia to the valley of the Nile, thence crossed over to Greece and the shores of the Mediterranean, depopulated Italy, and passing the Alps, advanced through France to Britain, where it arrived in August, 1348. The first case occurred in Dorsetshire. Two months after London was attacked, and its ravages rapidly spread over the whole kingdom. Of those attacked, many expired in six hours, and few lingered beyond two or three days. Historians estimate that, from a third to a half of the population were swept away by this terrible scourge. The pious Sir Walter Manny had purchased a graveyard of thirteen acres, for the citizens of London, on the site now occupied by the Charter-house, and in it for several weeks were deposited a daily average of two hundred bodies. Sixty thousand people are said to have perished at Norwich while, in the same diocese, two-thirds of the parish clergy were swept away. Nor was this awful malady confined to man: it attacked sheep, oxen, and horses, whose carcases lay in large numbers in the fields; but so foul that the birds of prey did not touch them. It is curious that the plague, though it visited Ireland and committed its usual ravages among the settlers in the Pale, left untouched the whole native population. For a time, too, the Scots enjoyed immunity from its attacks, and came to regard it as a malady peculiarly English. Their sense of superiority found expression in the popular oath, "By the foul dethe of the English;" but before many months all cause for triumph was removed: the pestilence penetrated to the Scotch camp at Selkirk, and thence to the remotest corners of the king-

dom, with no abatement of destructiveness. So dire a visitation was naturally believed to have been sent in punishment of sin, and many were the denunciations that followed of extravagance and vanities in dress and fashion among both sexes. But the most singular form which the feeling took was seen in the conduct of a band of fanatics, called the Flagellants, or Whippers. From Hungary, where they first appeared, they extended to Germany, Poland, and England. At the Pope's request they had been excluded from France. Their discipline consisted in stripping to the waist, and scourging their shoulders till the blood flowed. This was repeated twice a day, for thirty-three days, accompanied with the chanting of hymns, after which, in the belief that by this process they had fully expiated their sins, they returned to their usual employments.

The Flagellants.

To Edward's reign belongs the establishment of the Order of the Garter, founded in the year 1349. The origin of its motto, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*," is not known. Then, too, was rebuilt Windsor Castle, the architect being the famous William of Wickham, founder of Winchester School.

#### NOTES ON THE LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD III.

The repeated demands which Edward was obliged to make on his parliament greatly increased the power of that body, and enabled it to mitigate or remove the more pressing grievances of the people. By one of the ordinances of the "ordainers," in the reign of Edward II., a parliament was appointed to be held once a year; but the necessities of the third Edward compelled him to summon it even more frequently; as many as seventy parliaments were held in the fifty years of his reign.

A complete parliament included the three estates of the clergy, lords, and commons. Under the term Commons, however, were included two orders, originally distinct: the knights of the shire, representing the knights and freemen of the counties, and the members for cities and boroughs, representing their fellow-citizens and burgesses. In the present reign these two orders had coalesced; they were both summoned to parliament by the same form of writ, both had to give sureties for their attendance, and both were paid by their constituents while engaged on their parliamentary duties—the knights at the average rate of four shillings a day, and the citizens, or burgesses, at two. The Commons, though they rapidly came to possess more power than either, or both of the other two orders, did not theoretically hold an equal or co-ordinate rank with them as a constituent of parliament. The clergy were called "to treat, consult, and ordain with respect to such matters as should be submitted to them

Parliament.

Members of the Commons paid by their constituents.

on the part of the Crown ;" the lords "to advise and treat with the king, and the other prelates and great men ;" but the commons "to consent to whatever might be ordained by common advice."

The three estates met apart. Clergy with 4 conv. A. D. 1342.

The three estates deliberated in separate chambers ; and at some period during the reign, supposed to be about the year 1332, the clergy withdrew altogether, and, refusing to interfere in matters purely civil, confined themselves to questions affecting the Church. Though by thus sitting apart in their own convocation they did not cease to be an estate of parliament, this term thenceforward came to signify the two other estates, properly convened by royal summons.

The "great men of the land," "peers of the land," were tenants-in-chief of the Crown. They consisted of lords spiritual and temporal. Gradually the greater part of the lords spiritual obtained exemption from an attendance which was both irksome and expensive, for parliaments were sometimes held two or three times a year, and in remote parts of the country.

Greater and lesser barons.

Of the temporal peers two classes appear distinguished at an early period—the "greater" and "lesser" barons. Between these no sharp line of distinction was drawn ; but while the king was *obliged* to summon the greater barons, the presence of the majority of whom was necessary to give due force of legality to the business transacted, he was at liberty to use his discretion as to the lesser barons. These lesser barons were, in fact, those who, though holding by barony had from various causes become reduced or decayed in fortune, and to whom compulsory attendance in parliament would probably appear more of a burden than an honour.

The petitions of the different estates presented separately.

None of the three estates to be bound by a law to which it had not given its assent.

First Speakers of the Commons. Purveyance.

The petitions of the different orders were presented separately ; if the interest of one order in no way interfered with that of another, the king's grant was sufficient, otherwise the assent of the order whose interests were affected became necessary. Another great and fruitful principle, fully recognised at this time, was that none of the three estates was to be bound by a law to which it did not give its assent. This was a weapon of great power in the hands of the Commons, who resisted illegal exactions and oppressive ordinances by declaring that they had been obtained without their assent. The office of Speaker of the Commons first appears in this reign. The first who filled it was Sir William Trussell, in 1343. Sir Peter de la Mere was speaker of the Good Parliament in 1377, and he was immediately followed by Sir Thomas Hungerford.

Among the grievances which pressed most keenly on the people at this period was that of purveyance. It is never mentioned in parliament without the epithets "outrageous and intolerable." By purveyance was meant the right of the king's servants to seize along the route by which he journeyed horses, carts, fodder, provisions, and whatever was needed for his use and entertainment, and that of his followers. Theoretically payment was supposed to be made ; but even where money was paid the purveyors themselves fixed the price ; while in most cases claimants were referred from one government officer to another, till the amount became no longer worth the pursuit.

The king's servants, too, quartered themselves on the neighbourhood, and compelled the people to supply them with the best of whatever they had. Often in a spirit of wantonness and riot they would destroy what they could not consume. Yet, in spite of these abuses, Edward was so tenacious of the privilege that he would not

consent to its abolition ; nor was it till the time of Charles II. that it finally disappeared, with other relics of feudalism. But though the Commons could not procure its abolition, they succeeded in greatly mitigating its oppressiveness by having it enacted that purveyance should be limited to the king, queen, and heir to the throne ; that even they should provide their own horses and carriages ; that their followers should be billeted on the people by the officers of the township ; that disputes about price should be decided by the constable and four jurors of the neighbourhood ; that small sums should be paid within twenty-four hours, and larger within four months ; and that those violating these enactments should be treated as robbers and felons.

Enactment  
in reference  
to it.

To the reign of Edward III. belong the statutes of labourers, of treasons, and of provisors. The statutes of labourers were prompted by a desire to remedy the disorganisation produced by the Black Death. There was a scarcity of labourers to cultivate the land, and of artisans to manufacture instruments of husbandry.

Statutes of  
Labourers.

It was attempted to remedy this by a royal proclamation, ordering all of both sexes below the age of sixty, and without visible means of subsistence, to hire themselves out at the same wages as on former years to any persons willing to engage them. This, like all other attempts to fix wages or prices, was, of course, eluded ; and the rule of supply and demand regulated the wage-rate, which, in spite of the royal proclamation, was inordinately high. In the following parliament the proclamation, or ordinance, became a statute, and the attempt was made to fix definitely the amount of wages by means of heavy penalties against transgressors.

Before the present reign the crime of treason, the most heinous of all known to the law, and so the most severely punished, had not been exactly defined. A decision of one of the judges pointed out the danger of this loose state of the law. It happened that a gentleman had imprisoned a man in his castle till he paid a ransom of ninety pounds—a thing by no means unusual at the time. At the trial the judge pronounced the offender guilty of treason, because he had presumed to exercise an authority that only belonged to the king. This was deemed a very forced judgment, and the Commons, after many attempts, succeeded in obtaining, in 1351, a limitation of the penalties of treason to the following offences :—1, compassing or imagining the death of the king or his queen, or his eldest son and heir ; 2, violation of the queen's person, or of the wife of the king's son and heir, or of the king's eldest daughter, being unmarried ; 3, levying war within the realm, or adhering to the king's foreign enemies—these accusations to be sustained to the satisfaction of a competent jury, by proof of some overt act ; 4, counterfeiting the coin of the kingdom ; 5, killing certain specified state officers or the king's judges while in the discharge of their duty ; 6, counterfeiting the Great Seal.

Statute of  
Treasons.

Treason de-  
fined, A. D.  
1351.

It was the king's interest to have treason as widely defined as possible, inasmuch as the lands of those convicted of it were forfeit for ever to the Crown, while in cases of forfeiture for other offences they returned to the lord from whom the offender held. Hence, the greater the number of treasons the better for the king and the worse for the *mesne* or intermediate lords.

The statutes of provisors, of which there were several during the

**Statute of  
Provisions,  
A. D. 1364.**

reigns of the second and third Edwards, were directed against the exercise of the Pope's claim to "provide" or appoint to vacant sees and inferior benefices. This was regarded as an unjust interference with the rights of electors and patrons, and, in 1364, all former statutes against the practice were confirmed, and their penalties extended to all who should procure personal citations to plead in a foreign court, or who obtained or should obtain any ecclesiastical benefices within the realm.

**Constitution  
of the army.**

The army, under Edward III., consisted of four distinct classes : 1, the men-at-arms, or heavy cavalry, covered from head to foot with armour, and equipped with shield, spear, sword, or battle-axe (the men-at-arms included the knights and their esquires and followers) ; 2, the hobblers, also cavalry, but more lightly armed and consisting of persons of lower rank than the men-at-arms ; 3, the archers. These were armed with the long bow, generally six feet in length, with arrows of about three feet. To the archers Edward owed his brilliant victories in France. Archery was encouraged by royal proclamation, and other games which might interfere with its practice were forbidden. No one was allowed to aim at a mark at a shorter distance than eleven score yards. 4. The fourth element of the army was the foot soldiers. They were armed according to the provisions of the assize, but a great proportion of them were Welsh, who were armed with lances, and were very effective in a broken or mountainous country.

One of the most oppressive kinds of tyranny at this period was the forcible pressing of men into the army, without any inquiry whether they were bound by their tenure or not. The Commons interfered, and at last it was enacted that no man should be forced to serve against his will, or to find a substitute, unless bound thereto by his tenure ; or to march out of his own country except in case of invasion.

**The navy.**

The only approach to a regular navy which existed was a squadron of fifty-seven ships, which the Cinque Ports were bound by charter to place at the king's disposal as often as he wanted them. In cases of necessity these were supplemented by impressed merchant vessels, for the king exercised the right to seize such for the defence of the nation. Occasionally the king took into his service the vessels of Genoese and other adventurers. No vessels of war, in the proper sense, existed ; all carried indifferently either soldiers or merchandize, and the ship that had delivered its cargo to-day might be engaged in a contest for the empire of the seas to-morrow.

**Right of im-  
peachment,  
A. D. 1376.**

This reign contains the first example of a prosecution of ministers by the Commons. The administration of the Duke of Lancaster was in this way impeached by the Good Parliament in 1376, and Lords Latimer, Nevel, and others were punished with dismissal and imprisonment. This is the origin of the right of impeachment, which became afterwards so formidable a weapon against powerful servants or favourites of the Crown.

## RICHARD II.—1377-1399.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.	Kings of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Charles IV., 1378. Wenceslaus.	Charles V., 1380. Charles VI.	Robert II., 1390. Robert III.	Henry II., 1379. John I. 1390. Henry III.	Gregory XI., 1378. Urban VI., 1389. Boniface IX.

On the death of Edward, his grandson, Richard of Bordeaux, son and heir of the Black Prince, succeeded to the crown. The new king was only in his eleventh year, so that it became necessary at once to appoint a council of government during the minority. This was arranged at a great meeting of the prelates and barons held on the day after the coronation, and consisted of twelve members—two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets, and four knights. To these were joined the chancellor and treasurer. Lancaster, so powerful at the end of the last reign, and whose ambition was much suspected, was omitted from this council. That nobleman, however, by a vigorous and earnest speech, delivered in the first parliament, succeeded in removing the imputation of disloyalty, so that even the Commons themselves professed their belief in his innocence.

Accession  
of Richard,  
A. D. 1377.

Council of  
Regency.

The war with France still continued; French fleets insulted the ports on the southern coast, and it was determined to retaliate by despatching Lancaster with an army into Bretagne. But this expedition proved an utter failure. After a few weeks' siege of St. Malo, Lancaster and what remained of his forces returned to England without having achieved a single conquest. The people were soured by their disappointment, and on the demand of a subsidy in the parliament following, the Speaker of the Commons ventured to ask permission to inspect the accounts of the treasurers. This was granted, on condition that it should not be drawn into a precedent. Inquiry, however, disclosed none of the expected frauds; they were satisfied that the subsidy had been fairly assessed, and so readily granted a new aid by an additional tax on skins and wool.

Lancaster  
invades Bre-  
tagne.

Commons  
obtain per-  
mission to in-  
spect the  
Treasury ac-  
counts, A. D.  
1378.

A second expedition to Bretagne, under the Earl of



Second expedition to Bretagne under Earl of Buckingham. A. D. 1380.

Concessions to Commons.

Poll-tax. A. D. 1380.

Causes of the Popular Revolt. A. D. 1381.

Preaching of Wycliffe. Ball, and others.

Buckingham, the king's uncle, had no better success than the previous one. On the death of Charles V. of France, the Bretons suddenly made peace with the French regency which followed, and the English, who had come as allies, were received as enemies. The great expense thus fruitlessly incurred compelled a new appeal to the nation, on which the Commons made a number of demands, that the council should be dismissed; that the king should govern with the great officers of state—chancellor, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, chamberlain, and steward, all of whom should be chosen in parliament; and that a financial committee, made up of lords and commons, should be appointed to inquire into the expenditure of the government and royal household. All these demands were granted, and what was without precedent, on the finance committee were three members for boroughs—two aldermen of London, and one of York. Still the nation lay heavily in debt, and the “outrageous and insupportable” sum of £160,000 was needed for its liquidation. After much grumbling and many proposals it was decided to impose a tax of three groats on every male and female above the age of fifteen years.

From whatever cause or causes, feelings of unrest, discontent, and revolt prevailed at this time among the common people in many countries of Europe. In France the populace had seized Paris and Rouen, and murdered the collectors of the taxes; while in Flanders they rose against the reigning count, and drove him into exile. In England many assignable causes had share in inducing the ferment that for a time threatened the utter destruction of society as it then existed. Among these may be named the preaching of Wycliffe and his itinerant disciples, who, while directing their discourses mainly against the clergy, did much to sap all reverence for rank or property. One of the doctrines of this “first Protestant,” as a modern historian somewhat incorrectly calls him, was peculiarly calculated to loosen the cement of existing social order. He taught that no sinner had any right to hold property—a right which was entirely founded on grace—nor to have or receive the services of others. Similar to Wycliffe, though not connected with him, was John Ball, also an itinerant preacher, but prior in that vocation to Wycliffe. Ball, besides vehemently declaiming against the clergy, addressed himself more directly to bring about a social

revolution. The natural equality of all men was the great text on which he never wearied dilating. With rare skill he threw his most catching and plausible doctrines into brief, pithy, but homely aphorisms or couplets, by which they spread with extreme rapidity from county to county. His protest against social inequality is couched in the famous couplet:—

“When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?”

Besides the influence of these inflammatory addresses there were the many wrongs inflicted on the humbler population by the severe statutory repression that followed in the wake of the statute of labourers. There was a third and most powerful cause in the condition of the villeins in whose lot no substantial improvement had taken place, but who remained still very much what they were at the Conquest. They had, however, participated in the general increase in knowledge, and bore their bonds with proportionate impatience.

Statute of  
Labourers  
and other re-  
pressive mea-  
sures.  
Condition  
of the villeins.

In this dangerous state of the people's mind the three-groat poll-tax came to be collected, and the result was the formidable insurrection known as the Peasants' Revolt.

It was in Essex that the first resistance broke out. At Fobbing, in that county, the people refused to appear before the royal commissioner, and by way of answer to the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who threatened them with punishment, they put that dignitary to flight, murdered the jurors and clerks connected with the commission, and placing their heads on poles, marched with them to the neighbouring townships. The excitement rapidly spread, and in a little time the whole of Essex was in a state of insurrection, under the leadership of one Jack Straw.

Rising in  
Essex under  
Jack Straw.

Kent followed next. At Dartford, in that county, one of the collectors claimed a tax for a young girl, the daughter of a tyler, whose mother declared her under fifteen years. In the dispute that followed the collector seized the person of the maiden, on which the father, who had just entered, with one stroke of his hammer dashed out the offender's brains. The bystanders applauded, and the entire western division of Kent was in open revolt. They were followed by the men of Gravesend, and in a little time the insurgents of the whole county united; and, at Maidstone, chose for

Rising in  
Kent under  
Tyler and  
Ball.

Character of  
the outbreak.

leader Wat, the tyler, of that town. They were also accompanied by John Ball, who sustained their fervour by his frequent harangues. As they marched to London their numbers continued to increase, till at Blackheath, it is said, they amounted to a hundred thousand men. The news of these proceedings spread the flame through the whole eastern counties, from the south coast of Kent to the mouth of the Humber. The conduct of the people was the same in all: the pillage and destruction of the houses of the aristocracy; the murder of all lawyers, jurors, and persons in any way connected with the administration of justice; opposition to all taxes, except the ancient talliage of a fifteenth. Those whom they did not murder they swore to be true to King Richard, and never to accept a king with the name of John—a condition directed against John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

King's Bench,  
Marshalsea,  
and Lambeth  
Palace de-  
stroyed.

Insurgents  
enter London  
and destroy  
Newgate,  
John of  
Gaunt's Pa-  
lace at the  
Savoy, and  
the new Hall  
of the Temple.

The king  
meets them at  
Mile-end,  
where he  
grants their  
demand.

The king and principal officers of state had repaired to the Tower for greater security; but on the next morning Richard set out in his barge to receive the petitions of the insurgents, 10,000 of whom awaited him at Rotherhithe. On beholding the fierce multitude, however, the king's attendants became alarmed, and would not permit him to land, but rowed back to the Tower. This disappointment enraged the insurgents, who entered Southwark, where they destroyed the Marshalsea and King's Bench; while another party, entering Lambeth, destroyed the palace of the Bishop of London, burning furniture and records. On the following morning they entered London, where the poorer population made common cause with them. Here they demolished Newgate, liberating the prisoners; destroyed the splendid palace of John of Gaunt at the Savoy; and burned the new hall of the lawyers at the Temple. On the next day the Tower was surrounded, on which Richard sent forth a herald to say that they should retire to Mile-end, where he would meet them, and grant all their demands. Soon after the Tower gates were thrown open, and the king, with a few unarmed followers, rode out, and, followed by the greater part of the insurgents, advanced to Mile-end. The petitioners limited their demands to four:—1, the abolition of slavery; 2, the reduction of the rent of land to fourpence an acre; 3, free liberty to buy and sell in all fairs and markets; and 4, a general amnesty for all past offences. These were at once granted, and charters to that effect were issued to the various townships,

on which the assembly retired, bearing the king's banner as signifying that they were under his protection.

While this negotiation was being conducted at Mile-end, Tyler and Straw, with four hundred men, had entered the Tower, where they found the archbishop, the king's confessor, a farmer of the tax, and some others, all of whom they instantly put to death.

Tyler and his followers enter the Tower. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and others found there, put to death.

On the morning after this massacre, as the king, accompanied by some sixty horsemen, was riding through Smithfield, he encountered Tyler, at the head of twenty thousand men. The rebel chief advanced and entered into conversation with the king, all the time playing with his dagger. At last, he laid his hand on the king's bridle, on which Walworth, the Mayor of London, ran a short sword through his throat. Tyler's followers saw their leader fall, and were preparing to avenge his death, when the king, with rare courage and presence of mind, rode forward and said: "What are you doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor, come with me, and I will be your leader." They followed him to the fields at Islington, where a force of a thousand veterans came to the protection of the young king. Seeing these, the insurgents begged for mercy, on which the king assured them they should receive no harm, but commanded them to return to their homes. The suppression of the revolt in Kent and Essex virtually terminated the insurrection. Knights and esquires flocked from the counties to the king's banners, who soon found himself at the head of an army of 40,000 men. The charters which the king had been compelled to grant were revoked, and the villeins were ordered to render their services as formerly. Among the chiefs of the insurgents who were executed were John Ball and Jack Straw, the preachers; and Lister and Westbroom, who assumed the name and authority of kings in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Tyler slain by Walworth Lord Mayor of London.

It was in suppressing the popular outbreak that the famous "Fighting Bishop of Norwich" first distinguished himself. Clad in complete armour, and at the head of his retainers, he defeated the insurgents everywhere, and the three counties of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon were restored to tranquillity. After the engagements, he would sit in judgment on his prisoners, and, in the case of those condemned to death, administer himself the rites of religion before their execution. He afterwards sought a wider field for his military genius, and agreed with the

Henry Spenser, the "Fighting Bishop of Norwich."

He leads an expedition to France.

king, on a receipt of a subsidy of a fifteenth, contributed by parliament for the purpose, to serve against France for one year, and to maintain an army of 5,000 men, half men-at-arms and half archers. He took Gravelines, defeated an army of 12,000 men, and pursuing the fugitives to Dunkirk, entered that town with them. His success, however, did not last. He had laid siege to the town of Ypres, but on the approach of a French army of 20,000 men, his soldiers mutinied and fled, and he, with the remainder of his forces, returned to England, greatly to the disappointment of the king and nation. The king especially refused to acquit him of his breach of contract by returning within the year.

Invasion of Scotland, A. D. 1385.

On the return of the Bishop of Norwich, an amnesty had been concluded with the French, which included also the Scots; but, as the latter continued their incursions, John of Gaunt was sent against them with a considerable force. But besides the burning of some villages, and the cutting of the forests in which the enemy was accustomed to seek shelter, little was effected. Shortly after the king himself entered Scotland at the head of a large army, and had reached as far as Aberdeen, when he learned that a joint army of Scots and French had entered Cumberland, and plundered the whole country as far as Lancashire. The king returned, and Lancaster advised that the enemy should be intercepted at the borders; but on the previous evening the king had been cautioned against the duke, and he accordingly refused to follow his advice, but returned straight to England.

Lancaster soon after set out for Spain, to whose throne he laid claim; but though he failed in his immediate object, his daughter, Catherine, was married to Henry, son and heir of John, King of Castile. Richard was delighted at his departure, but he soon found that in the Duke of Gloucester, another uncle, he had a much more dangerous and unscrupulous person to deal with. The absence of Lancaster in Spain had emboldened the French to make preparations for the invasion of England, and for a time the fears of the people were very great. This gave Gloucester and his fellow-intriguers ground to accuse the administration, to whom they ascribed all the misfortunes of the country. They had succeeded in infusing the same feelings into the Commons, so that at the ensuing meeting of parliament the king's demand of a supply was met by a joint petition from

Lords and Commons, for the dismissal of the ministers and members of the council, especially the chancellor, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. After a struggle the king had to yield, and the ministers and council were dismissed. The Commons, not content with this, proceeded to impeach the ex-chancellor of high crimes and misdemeanours. Though acquitted on some charges he was found guilty on others, and sentenced to be fined in various sums, and imprisoned during the king's pleasure. This right of impeachment of the king's ministers was first exercised by the Good Parliament, at the end of the last reign, when the Lords Latimer, Nevil, and others connected with Lancaster's administration were deprived of their offices, and punished in other ways. The present proceeding against Suffolk confirmed the right which has never since been called in question.

Impeachment of the Earl of Suffolk, A. D. 1356.

The prosecution of the chancellor prepared the way for a bolder scheme on the part of the confederates: this was the appointment of a commission of eleven prelates and barons who, with the three great officers of State, were to have the right to inquire into every department of the Government, and to provide such remedies as might seem good to them. Among the members were the king's arch-enemies—his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel. The king felt obliged to yield his assent, but on condition that the commission should not extend beyond twelve months.

Commission of Government appointed, A. D. 1356.

Richard, having resigned himself to this usurpation of his authority for a time, set about making preparations for its safe resumption at the end of the term, as also for the punishment of his enemies. He had made tours to York and Chester, during which he was everywhere enthusiastically received. He had obtained the unanimous condemnation by the judges of the proceedings of the commissioners, and he had communicated with the sheriffs that they might summon a parliament in his favour. The opinions of the judges had, however, been betrayed to the council, who resolved to take vengeance on their enemies before their power expired. Gloucester even proposed the deposition of the king, and taking the crown under his own protection: but to this the Earls of Derby and Nottingham would not consent.

Nine days before the expiration of the parliament the king returned to London. But next morning he learned to his surprise that the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham had followed him with a large

The Duke of Gloucester and the "merciless" or "wonderful" parliament, A. D. 1387.

Case of Sir Simon Burley.

Battle of Otterbourne, A. D. 1388.

force. These three nobles, soon after joined by the Earls of Derby and Warwick, accused five of the king's favourites of treason. These were the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre. Of these the first three escaped, the archbishop, by concealing himself; Suffolk, by timely flight to France; and De Vere, Duke of Ireland, by a similar one to Holland: Brembre and Tresilian remained concealed in the city, but were betrayed by their servants. The discussion of the bill of impeachment lasted eight days, but the accused, or appellees, were found guilty on all the charges. Brembre and Tresilian were at once executed, as were also two of the judges who had condemned the appointment of the council. The lives of the other judges were only saved by the accidental entry of the bishops, who begged that a stop might be put to the further effusion of blood; but Gloucester was not yet satisfied, and four knights, among the king's oldest and truest friends, were impeached by the Commons, and, of course, found guilty. Chief among these was Sir Simon Burley, who had belonged to the court of Edward III., had been appointed Richard's own guardian by his father, the Black Prince, and had negotiated the king's marriage with his present queen. To save him, Richard himself condescended to sue to Gloucester, but was answered that, if he desired to save his crown he must lose his favourite. The young queen on her knees seconded her husband's appeal, but to no purpose. Equally vain was a final effort by the Earl of Derby, son to the Duke of Lancaster, and himself one of the Lords Appellant. The king, however, succeeded in postponing his fate for some three weeks; but on one occasion, during his absence, Gloucester's party seized the opportunity; Burley was called in, and on the same day accused, condemned, and executed. The three other knights suffered a week later.

Such were the works of the parliament, variously styled the "wonderful" and the "merciless," which was dissolved in 1388, after a session of four months. It was in this year that the battle of Otterbourne, in Northumberland, was fought between the English and Scotch. The latter gained the advantage, and though their leader, Douglas, was slain, the two English generals, Henry and Ralph Percy, were made prisoners.

The tyranny of Gloucester insensibly wrought a reaction

in the king's favour, and several of his partisans joined the royal cause. The king perceived the change, and at a great council, held after Easter, he suddenly asked his uncle how old he was. Gloucester replied, "Your Highness is in your twenty-second year." "Then," rejoined the king, "I must certainly be old enough to manage my own concerns;" on which, thanking the council for their past services, he informed them he did not need them further, and at once proceeded to the appointment of a new council and ministry. At the head of his new advisers were the Duke of York and the Earl of Derby; but even Gloucester, after a time, was invited to a place in the council.

King regains  
his authority.

A period of tranquillity and confidence between the king and the people followed this change. Its calm was, however, disturbed by the revived agitation on the subject of provisors, which terminated in the enactment of the most comprehensive as well as the final statute on the subject, known as the Statute of Præmunire. This forbids any person, under the penalties of outlawry, forfeiture, and imprisonment, to pursue or obtain, in the court of Rome or elsewhere, such translations (of bishops), excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things, against the king's crown or regality; or to bring them into the kingdom; or to receive, notify, or execute them within or without it.

Statute of  
Præmunire.  
A. D. 1393.

In 1394, the king, to divert his thoughts from the loss of his wife, "the Good Queen Anne," paid a visit to Ireland. He arrived at Waterford at the head of a force of 4,000 men-at-arms and 30,000 archers. To so great an army the natives could offer no resistance, and so the principal chieftains came and did homage, and promised an annual tribute.

King visits  
Ireland, A. D.  
1394.

From Ireland the king was called by the proceedings of the Lollards, or followers of Wycliffe, who had begun a fierce attack on the clergy, and the revenues, and discipline of the Church, and had prepared an exciting petition on the subject for the next meeting of parliament.

The marriage of the king about this time with Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. of France, gave him courage to undertake the punishment of his domestic enemies. Foremost among these were the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, brother to the Earl of Arundel. Gloucester, especially, continued to head every cabal against the king, and



The King  
seizes the  
Duke of Gloucester and  
the Earls of  
Arundel and  
Warwick.  
A. D. 1397.

in every way to annoy him. Richard at last resolved that he and his colleagues should no longer have power to disturb him. He himself headed the party that arrested Gloucester; the other two peers were captured by stratagem. Gloucester was sent to the Castle of Calais, Arundel to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, and Warwick to Tintagel Castle, in Cornwall. The king next had them "appealed" of treason in parliament, and, as a matter of course, condemned. Arundel was immediately executed, but Warwick's sentence was commuted to exile to the Isle of Man. On the Governor of Calais being ordered to produce his prisoner, the Duke of Gloucester, he replied it was impossible, as the duke had died some time before. All the circumstances of the case have led to the impression that he was murdered. Sentence was, nevertheless, pronounced, and his possessions were forfeited to the king. The Archbishop of Canterbury was banished for life, and his temporalities declared forfeit to the Crown.

Supposed  
murder of  
Gloucester.  
A. D. 1397.

The king's recent action had disclosed features of character calculated to make those who had at any time offended him uneasy. Of the lords ordainers none now remained but the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. These two chancing to meet, a conversation on the late proceedings, and on the unreliability of the king's promises and pardons, was opened by the Duke of Norfolk. The king, however, came to hear of it, and referred the charge brought by Hereford against Norfolk to a committee of twelve peers and six commoners. Norfolk, on coming into the king's presence, denounced Hereford as a "liar" and a "false traitor," on which Richard ordered both into custody. The quarrel was then referred to a high court of chivalry, whose award was that the issue should be decided by wager of battle. On the appointed day they entered the lists, at Coventry, in the presence of the king, the committee of parliament, and a great multitude of people. But, just as the battle was about to begin, the king suddenly forbade it, and instead, ordered the Duke of Hereford to go into exile for a term of ten years, to commence within four months; and the Duke of Norfolk to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and after to remain abroad in Germany, Hungary, or Bohemia for the rest of his life. Hereford went to Paris, and Norfolk, after a short stay in Germany, visited Jerusalem, and died at Venice on his return.

Quarrel between the  
Dukes of Norfolk and  
Hereford  
A. D. 1398.

Richard now saw himself triumphant over all his enemies, but the situation seems to have affected him unfavourably; he plunged from one act of despotism and tyranny to another, until he had completely forfeited the love and respect of his subjects. He obtained a subsidy for life, which enabled him to dispense with calling parliaments; he issued ordinances and proclamations, for which he claimed all the force of regular laws.

Richard acts absolutely.

Henry of Bolingbroke was not more than three months in exile when his father died. He at once assumed the title of Duke of Lancaster, and expected to be admitted, through his attorney, to the rich ancestral estates. Richard, however, decided that his exile, like outlawry, rendered him incapable of inheritance. This most unjust proceeding against a nobleman like Bolingbroke, one of the nation's chief favourites, completed the alienation of the people's feelings from the king and prepared the way for his ruin.

His injustice to Hereford, A.D. 1398.

It was at this critical period that the king resolved to visit Ireland to avenge the death of the Earl of March, his cousin and heir, slain by a party of the natives. He embarked at Milford Haven, with a fleet of 200 sail, landed at Waterford, whence he marched to Dublin.

King's second visit to Ireland, A.D. 1399.

But during Richard's absence events had taken place in England which soon demanded all his attention. The banished Earl of Hereford, now Duke of Lancaster, with a few followers, had landed in Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and was immediately joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. To these he declared, on oath, that the sole reason for his coming was to recover the lost honours and estates of his father, and bound himself not to advance any claim to the Crown. The Duke of York, whom Richard had left regent of the kingdom, did not oppose the march of the invader, who at St. Alban's found himself at the head of 60,000 men. London went forth in procession to receive him. From London he turned west, and at Berkely had an interview with the regent, York, his uncle, the result of which was that the troops of the latter united with those of Lancaster, and marched with them to Chester.

Invasion of Hereford, now Duke of Lancaster, A.D. 1399.

Richard soon after returned from Ireland, but even the small army which he had brought with him dispersed on the day after landing, and he was obliged, in company with his two brothers, the Dukes of Surrey and Exeter, to seek

refuge in the fortress of Conway, where, at the worst, the sea would be still open for escape to Guienne. But from this retreat he was lured by the perjured treachery of the Earl of Northumberland, who at once led him to Lancaster's camp at Chester. From Chester Richard was conducted to London, where he was soon after compelled to sign his resignation of the Crown, and to acknowledge himself incapable of reigning.

Deposition  
of the king.

On the day following both houses of Parliament met, and after the king's resignation had been read, thirty-three articles of impeachment were presented, showing that Richard had violated his coronation oath, and that by his misconduct he had forfeited his right to the Crown. This ended, eight commissioners ascended a platform raised near the throne, and pronounced Richard of Bordeaux degraded from the state and authority of king. When the commissioners had finished, Lancaster arose, and, making very solemnly the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast, said:—"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England and the Crown, with all the members and appurtenances, as that I am descended by right line of blood, coming from the good lord, King Henry III., and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and my friends to recover it; the which realm was on point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of good laws."

After this the Archbishop of Canterbury led him to the throne. He knelt on the steps for a time in prayer, and then rising, was seated on it by the two archbishops.

## KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

## HENRY IV.—1339-1413.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	King of France.	Kings of Scotland.	King of Spain.	Popes.
Wenceslaus, 1400. Robert, 1410.	Charles VI.	Robert III., 1405. James I.	Henry III.	Boniface IX., 1404. Innocent VII., 1406. Gregory XII., 1409. Alexander V., 1410. John XXIII.

Henry of Lancaster, in his challenge of the Crown, touched on three distinct grounds of claim: descent from Henry III., conquest, and expediency or necessity. Whatever may be thought of the value of the two last, on the ground of descent he had no claim; Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III., was, after Richard, the rightful heir. That prince was at this time but seven years old, and both he and his brother were carefully confined in the Castle of Windsor.

One of the first measures of the parliament which had proved so obsequious to Henry was to call on those lords appellant who in Richard's reign had "appealed" Gloucester and other peers of treason. Their punishment was to forfeit those estates and honours which they had received from Richard.

Though the punishment might have been more severe, revenge rankled in the minds of these lords, and five entered into a conspiracy to seize the king's person and reinstate King Richard. The plot was, however, betrayed by one of the number, the Earl of Rutland, and the conspirators found everywhere preparations made to receive them, and they themselves and a number of their followers were taken and executed. Among those who thus perished were the Earls of Kent and Salisbury. This feeble insurrection did much to strengthen the power of the new king, by checking for a time all attempts at further domestic disturbance. But the hostile attitude of Charles VI. of France, who refused to recognise him, and resolved to come

*Trial of the  
Lords Appel-  
lant.*

*An insur-  
rection, A. D.  
1400.*

Threats of  
the King of  
France.

to the aid of his son-in-law, Richard, gave the king cause for uneasiness.

Richard's  
body shown  
to the people  
in St. Paul's,  
A. D. 1400.

Richard, by judgment of the lords, had been committed to perpetual confinement, but after that no one seemed to know where he was or how he was treated. A little after, and while the King of France was still threatening, that monarch received undoubted intelligence of the death of the late king, and the news getting abroad, it was thought desirable to set the minds of the people at rest, and Richard's body was brought from Pontefract Castle to St. Paul's, and shown to the people. The coincidence of the time of death with the menaced danger from France led generally to the belief that he was murdered; according to one story by assassins, according to another, by starvation. His death, by depriving Charles of any object in his hostilities, set Henry's mind free in that quarter, and gave him leisure to attend to internal affairs.

The King in-  
vades Scot-  
land.

His first enterprise was an invasion of Scotland, but after a march to Edinburgh, whose castle defied him, he was compelled, by want of provisions, to return ingloriously to England.

Revolt of  
Owen Glendower.

He next turned his attention to Wales, where Owen Glendower, who claimed descent from the ancient kings of the country, had unfurled the banner of independence. The king had given to his son Henry the command of the war against Glendower; but the Welshman's tactics baffled all the efforts of his enemies; when they advanced he would retire into his fastnesses, and leave them to be dealt with by famine and the weather; when they retired he would cross the Marches and return with a rich harvest of plunder. Among the prisoners made by Glendower, were Lord Grey of Ruthyn, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, the latter uncle to the young Earl of March, and brother-in-law to Henry Percy, better known as Hotspur, son of the Earl of Northumberland.

A. D. 1400.

While this Welsh war was proceeding, two important engagements were fought with the Scots. The first was at Nesbit Moor, where in one of their raids they found themselves intercepted by an English army, headed by Dunbar, their own traitorous Earl of March, who entirely defeated them, and took a great number of prisoners. The second, which took place at Homildon Hill, where Douglas, who had in revenge for Nesbit Moor crossed the Marches and penetrated as far as the Tyne, with an army

of 10,000 men, was intercepted in his retreat by the Earl of Northumberland, his son Hotspur, and Dunbar, the Scottish Earl of March. After a vigorous engagement the Scots were again defeated, Douglas himself, pierced with five wounds, was made prisoner, with many others of the chief nobility of Scotland.

Of Glendower's two prisoners, mentioned above, Lord Grey and Sir Robert Mortimer, the former obtained from the king permission to procure his liberty by ransom, but to the latter such permission was absolutely denied. Even the request of Percy, seconding Mortimer, was of no use. Discontent of the Earl a. This treatment, as well as the king's neglect to pay them the expenses incurred in the Scotch wars, rankled in the breasts of that proud family, till it ripened into a resolve to dethrone the king, who, owing, as they believed, his crown to them, could already treat them with such neglect and ingratitude. It was resolved to join Glendower, depose Henry, and place on the throne King Richard, if still alive; if not, the young Earl of March. In the conspiracy were, besides Glendower, Sir Edmund Mortimer, who had married Glendower's daughter, the three Percies, the Earl of Northumberland, his son Henry, and his brother Thomas, Earl of Worcester, Douglas, who in lieu of ransom gave his personal services, and Scrope, Archbishop of York, who gave his sanction to the attempt.

The impatient temper of Hotspur did not waste much time. With such force as he could raise, and accompanied by Douglas and his Scotch knights, he set out for North Wales, where he had considerable influence. His uncle Worcester, the lieutenant of South Wales, joined him with a considerable force, and the archers of Chester flocked to his standard. Henry, on hearing of what was being done, turned at once westward and entered Shrewsbury as the rebels were visible from the walls. Hotspur, who had not been joined by Glendower and his Welsh, nevertheless prepared for battle. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, each about 14,000 men. Hotspur's army.

The battle began by a rush of Douglas and Hotspur, and about thirty followers, into the thick of the enemy, where they thought to find the king in person. But though they carried everything before them, they missed the prize they sought, the king had changed his armour and taken his station in a different part of the field. Douglas and Hotspur now determined to cut their way Battle of Shrewsbury. A. D. 1403.

back through the mass of the enemy who had closed behind them; but just as they had all but accomplished it, Hotspur was struck by a stray arrow and fell pierced through the brain. The news soon spread, and his followers, discouraged, broke and fled, and victory remained with the king. Douglas, who was among the prisoners, was treated by Henry with marked courtesy.

The Earl of Northumberland, who was marching through Durham with his retainers when he learned the defeat of the insurgents and death of his son, retired to his castle of Warkworth. Summoned to York to explain his conduct, he assured the king that the forces he was leading were intended, not for the rebels, but for the royal army. His case was brought before the lords at the next parliament, who pronounced him innocent of treason, and guilty only of trespasses, for which he owed a fine to the king.

Prince James  
of Scotland a  
prisoner in  
England.

The Duke of Albany, brother to King Robert of Scotland, had drawn to himself the reins of government in that country. He was thought to harbour the criminal design of climbing to the throne by the murder of his nephews. This belief was countenanced by the suspicious death of the Duke of Rothesay, the king's eldest son and heir. To prevent such a fate to the second son James, that prince, a boy of fourteen, was sent out of the country to be brought up at the French court. But the vessel in which he sailed having been attacked by an English cruiser, he was made prisoner, and taken to the English king. Henry refused to let him proceed, and confined him in the Castle of Pevensey, where, however, he was treated with all the attention due to his rank.

Rising under  
the Arch-  
bishop of  
York and the  
Earl of Not-  
tingham at  
Shipton Moor,  
A. D. 1405.

The Earl of Northumberland was still regarded as the centre of resistance to the government of Henry. The Earl of Nottingham, son of the exiled Duke of Norfolk, with others, thought it advisable to make one more attempt to remove the usurper. The Archbishop of York was drawn into their plans, and before Northumberland had time to join them the Archbishop and Nottingham found themselves at the head of 8,000 men at Shipton Moor, a few miles from York. Here they were met by the Earl of Westmorland at the head of a royal force, but no battle ensued; Westmorland invited Nottingham and the archbishop to a conference, where, after affecting for a time to concede all their demands, he had them suddenly

seized and borne off to the royal army. The rebels, seeing their chiefs taken, lost heart and quietly dispersed.

At Bishopsthorpe they were brought before Henry, who ordered Chief Justice Gascoigne to sentence them to death. This, however, Gascoigne refused, on the ground that he had no authority, as they were entitled to be judged by their peers. The king, on his refusal, appointed as judge a knight named Fulthorpe, by whom the prisoners were at once sentenced to death, without even the form of a trial. Their execution followed immediately. This was the first example in the annals of England of the execution of an archbishop.

Execution of  
the Arch-  
bishop, A. D.  
1406.

Northumberland, against whom the king now marched, had joined the Scotch, and fell back with them before the advancing force. All his castles were taken, and for two years he and his companions led a wandering life, at one time looking for aid to the Scotch, at another to the Welsh. Their hopes were raised by the tone of the parliament of 1407, and by the murmurs of the people at the oppressive taxes; and at the head of a small force the earl and Lord Bardolf burst into Northumberland, where they were joined by the retainers and tenants of the Percy family. Thence, with increased numbers, they penetrated as far as Knaresborough, but on their return they were overtaken at Bramham Moor by Sir Thomas Rokesby, Sheriff of Yorkshire. The battle was short; at the first shock the insurgents gave way before the regular soldiers of the sheriff. Northumberland perished in the field; Bardolf died of his wounds.

Invasion by  
the Earl of  
Northumber-  
land.

Battle of  
Bramham  
Moor, where  
the earl is  
slain. A. D.  
1408.

The Welsh war still lingered on, but the English, under Henry, Prince of Wales, made steady progress, and succeeded ultimately in hemming Glendower within a narrow and wild district surrounding Snowdon. The war, however, only came to an end with the death of that adventurous chief.

The Prince of Wales who had so distinguished himself both at the battle of Shrewsbury, and in the long war against Glendower, did not in other respects give satisfaction to his father. His revelry, riot, and debauchery greatly troubled the king, who also had suspicions that the prince harboured premature designs on the throne. It was, however, thought that in the prince's wildest freaks there were perceptible traces of a seriousness and ingenuousness that promised well for his riper years. On one

The Prince  
of Wales.



occasion, when one of the companions of his follies had been sentenced by Chief Justice Gascoigne, the prince haughtily demanded his release, at the same time threatening the judge with his sword. But Gascoigne coolly ordered him into custody in the prison of the King's Bench. The king, on hearing the incident, exclaimed: "Happy the monarch who possesses a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to obey the law."

From the darker suspicion of wishing to anticipate the natural period of his succession to the Crown, the prince freed himself by repeated protestations. On one occasion, he knelt before his father, and then offering him a dagger, begged he would take his life, as he had withdrawn his favour.

Henry, in the latter years of his reign, became afflicted with epileptic fits. His general health rapidly declined, and at forty-six he already displayed all the appearances of age. He suffered much also from trouble of conscience, and the memories of his crimes, and the blood he had spilt in the pursuit of his unjust ambition haunted him continually. He died on the 19th of March, 1413, the fourteenth year of his reign, and the forty-sixth of his age.

The King's  
death.

His family.

Henry had been twice married—first, to Mary Bohun; and, secondly, to Jane of Navarre. By his first wife he had five sons—Henry, Prince of Wales, who succeeded him; Thomas, Duke of Clarence; and John and Humphrey, who remained without title; also two daughters—Blanche, who married the Duke of Bavaria; and Philippa, married to the King of Denmark. By his second wife, Jane, Henry left no issue.

## HENRY V., 1413-1422.

### CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	King of France.	King of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Sigismund.	Charles VI.	James I.	Henry III., 1416. John I.	John XXIII., 1415. Martin V.

On the death of the late king, his eldest son, Henry of Monmouth, whose valour, both at the battle of Shrewsbury and in the Welsh war, had already commended him

to the nation, succeeded without opposition. The claim of the Earl of March was not once raised. The new king began his reign by the reformation of his own conduct; by the advice of his confessor, he dismissed all his former dissolute companions, and surrounded himself with men of virtue, knowledge, and experience. He magnanimously liberated the Earl of March, and restored Hotspur's son, an exile in Scotland, to the estates and honours of the Percy family.

Exemplary  
change in the  
King's con-  
duct.

In the last reign, the proceedings of the itinerant preachers so alarmed the king, that he had an act of parliament passed whereby those found guilty of heresy, and refusing to abjure the condemned tenets, or who having abjured, afterwards relapsed, were sentenced to be handed over to the custody of the sheriff, and burned on an elevated place, before the eyes of the people. The first person who suffered this terrible penalty was a clergyman of London, named William Sawtre.

Statute  
against here-  
tics, A. D.  
1401.

But his death rather quickened than damped the ardour of the Lollards, as the followers of Wycliffe and the preachers were called. During the first parliament of the present reign notices were affixed to the doors of the London churches, that if force were employed to put down the new doctrines, 100,000 men would be forthcoming to their defence. On inquiry, some of those papers were traced to Sir John Oldcastle, become, by right of his wife, Lord Cobham, an intimate and former boon-companion of the king. Henry thought to convert his friend from his errors, but failing, demanded whether he would submit to the decision of the bishops. This Oldcastle refused, on which the king had him at once committed to the Tower. Through the request of the primate, a respite of fifty days was granted him by the king; but before the term expired, he had effected his escape, and was once more in communication with his followers. His first plan was to seize the king and his brothers, but this failing through accident, he appointed St. Giles as a place of meeting, to which all his friends should hasten, in order to make a demonstration of their strength. This intention coming to the king's knowledge, he resolved to prevent it, and with that view marched at midnight with a strong force to the appointed meeting-place. As the contingents of Lollards arrived, they were asked, "For whom are you?" To which they answered, according to their watchword, "For

Lollard con-  
spiracy, A. D.  
1413.

Sir John  
Oldcastle  
committed to  
the Tower.

He escapes.

Orders a  
meeting of  
his followers  
at St. Giles's  
Fields.

The meeting  
prevented by  
the king.

Sir John Oldcastle." On this they were disarmed and secured. Some, however, succeeded in escaping; and those of their brethren, who were approaching by various roads, hastily turned back and sought their several homes. Some of the leaders, amongst them Oldcastle himself, made good their escape; others were taken and executed.

Henry prepares for the invasion of France.

The suppression of this insurrection opened the way for the king's cherished project, the conquest of France, and the annexation of its crown to that of England. The ground was the old one of his great-grandfather, Edward III., descent from Isabella, the mother of this last monarch. By way of preliminaries, Henry made various proposals to the French ministers; but they were of so extravagant a nature, that they would seem to have been designedly framed to ensure rejection. The lowest terms tendered to the French monarch were the cession of all territories included in the Duchy of Aquitaine, the half of Provence, the hand of the princess Catherine, daughter of Charles, with a dowry of one million of crowns; and, finally, the payment of the ransom of King John, amounting to one million two hundred thousand crowns. In reply to these, the Duke de Berri, on behalf of his master, agreed to the cession of Aquitaine, but limited the dowry of the Princess Catherine to eight hundred thousand crowns. These terms were rejected by Henry, who withdrew his ambassadors, and at once began his preparations for war.

The King appoints the Duke of Bedford Regent, and sets out for Southampton.

Having obtained a subsidy from parliament, he nominated fifteen spiritual and twenty-eight temporal peers to act as council to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom during his absence; and then set out for Southampton, where the army had assembled for embarkation.

Conspiracy against the King. Trial and execution of the conspirators, A. D. 1415.

Here, as all things were ready for departure, a conspiracy against the king was discovered. At its head were Richard, Earl of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of York; Lord Scrope, and Sir Thomas Grey. The object of the conspirators is not known, but it is supposed they intended to place on the throne the Earl of March, whose sister Cambridge had married. All three were seized, tried, condemned, and executed.

Henry was now free to proceed, and with the first favouring wind he sailed from Southampton, in a fleet of fifteen hundred ships, carrying an army of 6,000 men-at-

arms, and 24,000 archers; and, after a safe and rapid voyage, entered the mouth of the Seine.

The first operations were directed against the town of Harfleur, which was at once invested by sea and land. After a brave defence of five weeks, the place was surrendered unconditionally, and its keys delivered to the English king. Henry ordered the inhabitants to depart from their homes, but permitted them to take with them portion of their clothes, and five pennies each, to procure provisions on the road. The men-at-arms were to depart without horses or armour, and further, to swear to surrender themselves by an appointed day prisoners to the Governor of Calais. But the capture of Harfleur had its disadvantages. The loss of men by the siege and from disease, added to those necessary for the garrison of the place, had reduced the army to half its original strength. With such a force the king could not attempt large operations, but he resolved, at all hazards, to cut his way with it to Calais. At every step he was watched and followed by the French, under D'Albret, the Constable of France. At Agincourt, both armies found themselves face to face, and at once prepared for battle. Henry drew up his army in three divisions, and two wings; the archers were in front of the men-at-arms; and on the present occasion, besides their usual weapons, each, by the king's orders, was provided with a stake about six feet long, and pointed at both ends. These stakes they planted before them in a slanting direction, so as to offer a breastwork of spearheads to the charge of the enemy's cavalry.

Capitulation of Harfleur, A. D. 1415.

The French, who are stated to have been six or seven times more numerous than their opponents, were also drawn up in three divisions, under the leadership of the Constable, the Dukes of Bar and Alençon, and the Earls of Marle and Falconberg.

The battle was opened by the English, who rushed across the interval separating the armies till they came within a short distance of the enemy. There the archers, having planted their stakes, rushed in front, discharged their arrows, and then returned behind their ramparts. The French men-at-arms sent against them were unable to make any impression, and were hurled back in terrible confusion on the first line. The archers, seizing the opportunity, threw their bows on their shoulders and rushed with sword and battle-axe on the struggling and

The battle of Agincourt, A. D. 1415.

helpless mass. The Constable and chief commanders were slain in this attack, which put an end to all resistance on the part of the enemy's first division. Henry directed the archers to form a second time, while he with his men-at-arms attacked the second division. The battle here was stubbornly contested, and the king's life was frequently in danger. Once he was struck to his knees by the mace of a French knight, one of a band of eighteen who had sworn to kill him or take him prisoner. At another time the Duke of Alençon, having fought his way to where the king was, with one blow struck to the earth the Duke of York, and with the next clove the crown on the king's helmet. Seeing himself entirely surrounded, he cried: "I yield, I am Alençon;" but before Henry could seize his hand he was slain. The Earls of Marle and Falconberg, seeing the day lost, rode at the head of a small band into the midst of the English, where, fighting desperately, they were surrounded and slain.

The loss of the French army was enormous: 8,000 knights and esquires, 100 bannerets, 7 counts, and 3 dukes were reckoned among the slain. The English loss amounted to 1,600 men, among whom were the Earl of Suffolk and the Duke of York.

The king returns to England, A. D. 1418.

After the battle Henry resumed his march to Calais, where after his arrival he held a council in which it was decided to return to England. The king landed at Dover, where he was greeted enthusiastically by the crowd which had assembled to see him. Along the road to the capital, and in the capital itself, everything testified the pride and affection with which the people regarded their young and victorious monarch. Parliament itself caught the generous excitement, and besides granting him a tenth and fifteenth, to be levied within twelve months, settled on him the tonnage and poundage for guarding the sea, and conferred on him for life the subsidy on wool and leather.

Quarrel between the Burgundians and Armagnacs.

Among the captives taken by Henry at Agincourt was the Duke of Orleans, the regent of France. In his absence the reigns of power fell into the hands of his father-in-law, the Count of Armagnac. A long feud had existed between the families of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. At present the Armagnacs had possession of the imbecile king, Charles VI., as well as the entire powers of the Government. The Duke of Burgundy, under these circumstances, having had several interviews with the envoys of the

King of England, was believed to have entered into a treaty with him, in which, in return for his protection, he promised to acknowledge his claim to the French crown. Probably no such treaty was made, for a little after the duke is found swearing to a treaty of friendship and mutual aid between himself and the dauphin. One of the articles of this treaty was that both should unite against the Armagnacs, and then turn their arms against the King of England. This arrangement was dissolved by the death of the dauphin—an event closely followed by the imprisonment of the Queen Isabel of Bavaria. Burgundy now issued proclamations charging his enemies with the murder of the dauphin, and with causing all the evils that afflicted France. The queen, who had been Burgundy's mortal enemy, now smarting under her recent treatment, entered into negotiations with him and planned a method for her escape. This being successful, she proclaimed herself regent during the continuance of the king's malady, and nominated the Duke of Burgundy her lieutenant.

*Triumph of  
the Burgun-  
dians.*

It was in the midst of these troubles that Henry landed once more on the Norman coast. His army consisted of 16,000 men-at-arms, and about an equal number of archers. No resistance whatever was offered in the open field; and though the fortresses often defended themselves bravely, they fell one by one into the hands of the invaders. Touques, Auvillers, Villers, Caen, L'Aigle, Lisieux, Alençon, and Falaise were successively reduced.

*Henry re-  
turns to  
France and  
reduces Nor-  
mandy, A. D.  
1417.*

A reinforcement of 15,000 from England enabled the king to divide his army and proceed with greater rapidity in the career of conquest. Cherbourg was taken after a siege of six months, and by the fall of Rouen, later on, the whole of Normandy was once again subject to an English king.

Meantime, terms of reconciliation were drawn up by the Cardinals, Ursini and St. Mark, and submitted to the Duke of Burgundy and the Armagnacs. By the former they were accepted; by the latter insolently rejected. This act of the Armagnacs marked them as the enemies of the country; in a little time a band of Burgundians was treacherously admitted through one of the gates of Paris, who being joined by thousands of the citizens, an indiscriminate slaughter of all who were thought to belong to the hated party ensued. With difficulty the king's third

*Massacre of  
the Armag-  
nacs, A. D.  
1418.*

and only surviving son, Charles, was saved from the general massacre.

**The Queen and Burgundy have an interview with Henry, A. D. 1419. Burgundy in secret league with the Dauphin.**

In a few days after, the queen and Duke of Burgundy entered the city amidst the tumultuous joy of the inhabitants. In their hands was now the destiny of France. With the young Princess Catherine they set out for an interview with Henry; but in the long negotiations that followed Burgundy was insincere; he had secretly met and entered into a solemn bond of friendship with the dauphin, and both agreed to unite their forces for the expulsion of the English.

**Assassination of Burgundy, A. D. 1419.**

This reconciliation had not lasted two months when the Duke of Burgundy was pressed by the dauphin to accord him a private interview at Montereau, on the Yonne. The duke, though with some suspicions, agreed, and set out with twelve attendants. Three barriers, each with a gate, crossed the bridge. The duke's party had passed the first and second, which were locked behind them; when they reached the space between the second and third they were met by the dauphin and his party. After friendly greetings, and as the duke was conversing with the prince, he was suddenly attacked, and fell covered with wounds. His attendants were either slain or made prisoners. The incident opened for Henry's fortunes an unexpected prospect. Philip, the new Duke of Burgundy, succeeded his father, harbouring no other aim than to take revenge on his murderers. If Henry would assist him in that object he should agree to any terms he proposed. The queen, too, informed the English monarch that whatever terms he should conclude with the Duke of Burgundy would be ratified by the king, her husband. Henry's terms were at once declared; he demanded the hand of the Princess Catherine, the regency of the kingdom during the life of King Charles, and the right to succeed to the French crown at his death. The terms, after a short delay, were agreed to and signed, and a "perpetual peace" between the two kings followed soon after. Henry, on the conclusion of the treaty, set out for the French court at Troyes, where his marriage with the Princess Catherine was celebrated with great splendour.

**Treaty of Troyes, A. D. 1420**

It was while Henry was carrying all before him in France that a plot between the Lollard leaders and the Scotch cabinet to deprive him of his kingdom of England disclosed itself. Albany and Douglas crossed the borders

and laid siege to the towns of Roxburgh and Berwick; but the approach of the English army, under the Duke of Bedford, compelled them to retire. This retreat of his allies disconcerted the plans of Sir John Oldcastle, who had emerged from concealment and appeared in the neighbourhood of London. After eluding his pursuers for a time he was taken in Montgomeryshire. At the petition of the Commons, for parliament was then sitting, he was arraigned before the peers, who condemned him to be hung as a traitor, and burned as a heretic. The sentence was carried out in St. Giles' Fields, the scene of his former attempts at rebellion.

Capture and execution of Sir John Oldcastle, A. D. 1417.

In the winter of 1420, Henry and his father-in-law, with the two queens, made their entry into Paris. Charles summoned the three estates, and having explained the reasons which induced him to conclude "a final and perpetual peace with his dear son the King of England," left with them a copy of the treaty, which, strange to say, was returned with the unanimous approbation of the members.

Henry and Charles, with their two Queens, visit Paris, where the three estates approve the treaty. A. D. 1420.

From Paris Henry set out for London, where Catherine was crowned amid the greatest pomp and rejoicing. Never, says the chronicler, since the days of Arthur, King of the Britons, had the city of London beheld so magnificent a display by any English monarch.

Coronation of Queen Catherine in London. A. D. 1421.

From England Henry was recalled by the news of a defeat sustained at Beaujé by the Duke of Clarence at the hands of La Fayette, assisted by a body of some 7,000 Scots, led by the Earls of Buchan and Wigton and the Lord Stewart of Darnley. He landed at Calais with 4,000 men-at-arms and 24,000 archers. With these he compelled the dauphin to retire from before the walls of Chartres, and pursued him to the city of Bourges. He next undertook the siege of Meaux, which at the end of five months fell into his hands by famine. But his career was now coming to a close. A strange disease, which the physicians could not check, rapidly undermined his strength, and soon left no hope of recovery. On the day of his death he appointed Warwick tutor to the young prince, his son; the Duke of Gloucester was made guardian of England, and the Duke of Bedford was recommended as the regent of France in case the Duke of Burgundy should decline the office. Having arranged these matters, he devoted himself to the concerns of his soul. He died in the most edifying manner on the 31st August, 1422. His remains

Battle of Beaujé. A. D. 1421.

Henry returns to France.

His illness and death.



were borne to England and interred near the shrine of the Confessor in Westminster.

His character.

Ambition was the predominant passion of Henry. But in his case it seems to have been awakened by the consciousness of ability to pursue and secure its objects. Though in the end he owed the realisation of what seemed impracticable dreams to mere chance, yet in his efforts to secure them he had displayed the highest qualities both of a warrior and a statesman. To this lofty feeling of his own strength was due the generosity and magnanimity with which he treated those who, like the Earl of March, inherited, without fault of their own, a compromising political position. His liberation of that nobleman, his grant of pardon to him after the Northampton conspiracy, as well as the restoration of the son of Hotspur to his family estates, are acts which imagination could hardly credit to any of his predecessors. Unlike them, too, while haughty and even arrogant to those of the highest rank, he may, considering the time, be considered as exceptionally careful of the welfare and happiness of the common people. In France, itself, he was long remembered by them as a benefactor.

### HENRY VI. 1422-1461.

#### CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	Kings of France.	Kings of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Sigismund, 1437. Albert, 1439. Frederic III.	Charles VI., 1422. Charles VII.	James I., 1437. James II., 1460. James III.	John II., 1454. Henry IV.	Martin V., 1431. Eugenius IV., 1447. Nicholas V., 1455. Calixtus III., 1458. Pius II.

Council of Government formed.

The new king, the son of Henry V. and Catherine, was but nine months old on the death of his father. Accordingly, when this last event became known in England, a number of peers, spiritual and temporal, met and issued commissions, in the name of Henry VI., to the various government officers to continue the discharge of their functions. The Duke of Gloucester, whom the late king had appointed guardian of the realm, was offered a commission to open and close parliament, in the king's name,

*with the consent of the council.* The duke objected to this last clause, as unusual, and as making him a mere servant of the council. His objection was overruled, on the ground that the king was an infant, and that such clause, or an equivalent, was necessary. He then claimed the regency, on two distinct grounds: first, that he was appointed to it by the late king, his brother, before his death; and, secondly, because in the absence of his brother, the Duke of Bedford, he was next of kin to the young king. To these grounds of claim the peers, after examining the rolls and consulting the judges, replied that neither law nor precedent countenanced them. The late king had not the power to delegate his authority, which expired with him, nor had he power to alter the law of the land without the consent of the three estates. But though they would not agree that he should possess any title implying a delegation of the royal authority, such as regent, lieutenant, governor, they were willing to appoint him president of the council, with the title of "Protector of the Realm and Church of England."

Gloucester  
claims the  
Regency.

The regency of France was, according to the dying wish of the late king, first offered to the Duke of Burgundy, and, on his declining it, was conferred on the Duke of Bedford. This was the last political act of Charles VI.; he died a few days after. His death was a serious blow to the English interest in France. The dauphin, his third and only surviving son, at once assumed the royal style and title, as Charles VII. Rheims, the traditional coronation place of the French kings, being in the hands of his enemies, he was crowned at Chartres instead. The ceremony had a marked effect in increasing the number and stimulating the zeal of his adherents.

The Duke  
of Bedford  
Regent of  
France.

Death of  
Charles VI.  
The Dauphin  
assumes the  
royal title,  
under the  
name of Char-  
les VII.

On the other hand, Bedford had strengthened his position by a close union with the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne. These three princes met at Arras, and swore to a treaty of friendship and mutual aid against their enemies. The marriages of Bedford and Bretagne to sisters of the Duke of Burgundy were intended to cement more firmly this new alliance.

Alliance of  
the Dukes of  
Bedford, Bur-  
gundy, and  
Bretagne.

The Loire at this time separated the contending powers. With the exception of the English province of Guienne, all south of that river acknowledged the authority of Charles, while those on the north recognised the rule of the King of England. For some time after the recommencement

**Battle of  
Crevant,  
A. D. 1422.**

of hostilities, the successes on both sides seemed fairly balanced; the first occasion when the English arms reasserted their old superiority was at the battle of Crevant on the river Yonne. A French army, with a large body of Scotch, laid siege to the town, on which a combined force of English and Burgundians marched to its relief. The battle was stubbornly contested, but in the end the Scotch were almost annihilated, and the French, caught between the relieving force and the garrison, suffered very severely. The French and Scotch commanders were both among the prisoners.

**Liberation  
of the King of  
Scots, A. D.  
1423.**

The influx of Scotch volunteers to the armies became a source of uneasiness to Bedford, who recommended the council to come to terms for the liberation of the King of Scotland. This was quickly arranged. James was to be set at liberty on the conditions that he would forbid any of his subjects to take service with the French army; and, secondly, that he should pay, in instalments, the sum of £40,000 in return for the expense of his maintenance and education while in England.

**The Battle  
of Verneuil,  
A. D. 1424.**

The earlier part of the year 1424 had been favourable to Charles; several Burgundian lords joined him, and he obtained possession of Compeigne, Crotoi, and Ivri. But, on the arrival of reinforcements from England, the two former were recovered, and siege was laid to the last. To raise the siege of Ivri, a French army of eighteen thousand men, under the command of the Duke of Alençon, approached its walls; but, the attempt appearing hopeless, Alençon, instead, turned aside and seized Verneuil, which, having garrisoned, he marched forth to meet the enemy. In the battle which ensued, and which is known as the battle of Verneuil, the numbers of the opposing armies were about equal. Both sides fought with the most desperate resolution, and for a time it was impossible to know which had the advantage. But at length the unremitting efforts of the English archers began to have their effect; the French gradually lost courage, and the day ended in their defeat. Their commander the Duke of Alençon, and two hundred knights were made prisoners, while the number of their slain numbered 3,000. On the English side the loss was reckoned at 1,600, a number considered by them as unusually large.

So far the English power and possessions had been preserved by the military skill and political foresight and pru-

dence of the Duke of Bedford. But his efforts were frequently thwarted by the selfish aims of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester. About this time an incident occurred in which the duke's selfishness and folly were displayed before all Europe.

Jacqueline of Hainault, had for her first husband the Dauphin of France; some time after his death she chose for her second, John, Duke of Brabant, a boy of sixteen. This marriage proved unhappy, and Jacqueline fled from her husband and sought an asylum in England. Gloucester, on seeing her, became enamoured of her charms, and pretending that the marriage of the Duke of Brabant was null and void on the ground of consanguinity, married her himself. He then demanded the surrender of her possessions from the Duke of Brabant; but the Duke of Burgundy, the cousin and heir-apparent to that prince, interposed, and declared he would resist such a demand with force. The Pope, too, threatened Gloucester with excommunication if he attempted to carry out his design. Jacqueline soon after fell into the hands of the Burgundians, and after a fourth marriage with a private gentleman was obliged to cede to the Duke of Burgundy the greater part of her dominions. Gloucester had thus not only endangered the alliance with Burgundy, but by thus deflecting the Burgundian soldiers from the theatre of war to Hainault and Holland, the strength of Bedford's forces was so reduced that they were unable to follow up the victory of Verneuil.

Among the members of the council who most earnestly and successfully resisted the proceedings of Gloucester was the Bishop of Winchester, better known by his later title of Cardinal Beaufort. He was the second son of John of Ghent, by Catherine Swynford, and so was uncle to Bedford and Gloucester, and granduncle to the king. The quarrel between Gloucester and his uncle at length reached such a height that Bedford was compelled to return from France to try and effect a reconciliation. In this he was apparently successful. A few days later the cardinal resigned the seals and withdrew from the council.

Hitherto the war in France had been confined to the country north of the Loire; in 1428, the English resolved to invade the territory south of that river, and began with the siege of Orleans. The command was given to the Earl of Salisbury, but on his death from a cannon shot he

Jacqueline  
of Hainault.

Cardinal  
Beaufort.

Siege of  
Orleans, A.D.  
1429.

Battle of  
Rouvrai, or  
"The Her-  
rings."

was succeeded by the Earl of Suffolk. The town was surrounded by a number of towers and bastiles, which, communicating with each other, seemed to preclude all hope of relief to the besieged. An attempt on the part of a body of four or five thousand French and Scotch cavalry, under the command of Lord Claremont, to intercept a convoy of provisions, consisting in large part of herrings, led to the encounter known as the Battle of Rouvrai, or the Battle of Herrings. Sir John Falstaff, the English commander, barricaded his position with waggons, among which he distributed numbers of archers. Two narrow openings were only left, and on the attempt of the enemy to penetrate them they were galled by a shower of arrows, and hurled back in confusion. The victory was complete, 600 French and Scots being left on the field.

Everything now pointed to the speedy fall of Orleans, and with it the power and hopes of Charles. But relief came from a source the most strange and unexpected.

Joan of Arc.

In the village of Domremy, in Champagne, dwelt a peasant girl known as Joan d'Arc. From her childhood she had been thoughtful, pious, and fond of solitude. Much of her time was spent in a solitary chapel in the neighbourhood, which was known as the Hermitage of the Virgin. Here, every Saturday, she would hang flowers or burn a taper in honour of the blessed patroness of the place. As she grew up she declared that she saw visions and heard "voices." One day, as she was sitting alone in the fields tending her father's flock, she heard a voice, and looking up beheld the Archangel Michael and the Saints Catherine and Margaret. The archangel told her that she was the maiden appointed by God for the deliverance of her country from her enemies. She was directed to apply to Baudricourt, the Governor of Vaucouleurs, for means to proceed to the French court, and was to conduct King Charles to Rheims for his coronation. Baudricourt at first received her with incredulity, but gradually became impressed by something in her manner, and sent her with an escort of seven persons to the French court at Chinon. The journey was long and dangerous, both from parties of the enemy and bands of robbers who roamed about in search of plunder. Joan and her companions, however, arrived safely on the tenth day, and word was at once sent to the king, notifying the fact and requesting an audience. After some delay it was granted, and Joan

was ushered into a hall filled with knights, among whom sat the king, undistinguished from the rest by dress or decorations. She was in no way abashed by the novel and trying scene, but walking straight to the king, bent her knee and saluted him with, "God give you good life, gentle king." Charles declared he was not the king, pointing out at the same time to another knight, who he declared was the king; but she replied: "In the name of God, it is not he but you who are the king." Charles then took her aside, and on his return declared that "the maid" had informed him of a matter pertaining to himself, which she could only have learned through a supernatural source.

On the following morning she appeared in public mounted on horseback. The grace with which she managed her charger, and the dexterity with which she used the lance, called forth loud acclamations. Still great doubts prevailed, and a considerable interval elapsed before Charles agreed to accept her aid. On her second public appearance she was mounted on a gray charger, equipped in all respects as a knight, and with her banner borne before her. Her appearance again awakened the wildest enthusiasm. She was regarded by all as a divinely-sent leader, and thousands professed their readiness to follow her to battle.

It had been resolved to make a desperate effort to throw provisions into Orleans, as the garrison must else capitulate through famine. The maid prayed that she might direct the undertaking. Her request was granted, and the convoy, as she had predicted, entered Orleans without opposition. In the city she was regarded as a messenger from heaven, in the English camp she inspired the most dispiriting fears. Having raised the confidence of her countrymen to the highest pitch, she boldly led them against the towers or bastiles, which the English had erected round the city, and after having captured the greater number, so intimidated Suffolk, that he raised the siege, and sought refuge in the town of Jargeau. Here he was in turn besieged; a great number of his men were slain, and he himself with the survivors made prisoners. The capture of Jargeau was followed by the defeat of Patay, in which Lord Talbot was made prisoner, with the loss of twelve hundred men.

The relief of Orleans was one part of Joan's mission, the other was to lead the king to Rheims for his coronation.

Siege raised.  
Capture of  
Jargeau, A. D.  
1429.

Battle of  
Patay, A. D.  
1429.

Charles VII.  
is crowned at  
Rheims

Joan, a pri-  
soner. Her  
trial and exe-  
cution, A. D.  
1431.

Henry VI.  
crowned at  
Paris.

Congress of  
Arras, A. D.  
1435.

This she now strongly urged, and such was the confidence she everywhere inspired, that though the intervening country was entirely in the hands of the English and Burgundians, Charles resolved to make the attempt. He set out at the head of 10,000 cavalry, and reached Rheims without opposition. Joan, who during the coronation ceremony had stood by the king's side, when it was over flung herself at his feet, declared her mission fulfilled, and begged leave to return to her parents and sisters. The king, however, having earnestly pressed her to remain, she consented, but she no longer felt the consciousness of being engaged in a divine mission, and though she achieved several successes, she was defeated in an attempt to raise the siege of Compeigne, and in the retreat was made prisoner, and ultimately transferred to the regent Bedford. The Bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she was taken, claimed the right to try her for sorcery and heresy. For sixteen days her trial lasted at Rouen, and at the end she was found guilty, and ordered to be burned. This most cruel and unjust sentence was carried into execution in the market-place at Rouen, before a great multitude of people, in the year 1431.

The Duke of Bedford, sensible of the impression made on the popular mind by the coronation of Charles in the ancient cathedral of Rheims, resolved that his nephew should also have the benefit of a similar ceremony in the same place. But when the young king had come over, it was found impossible to get to Rheims, and the ceremony was performed at Paris instead.

In the year 1432, the Duchess of Bedford, sister to the Duke of Burgundy, died, and that prince, irritated by the haste with which Bedford replaced her by a second wife, Jacquetta of Luxemburg, secretly resolved to seek the earliest occasion of making his peace with Charles.

At the Congress of Arras, where, under the direction of the Pope, representatives of the English, French, and Burgundians had assembled for the purpose of agreeing to a general pacification, there was an evident understanding between the French and Burgundians. The English pretensions were deemed extravagant, and Cardinal Beaufort and his colleagues withdrew from the congress rather than witness the triumph of their enemies. After their departure a treaty between Charles and Burgundy was signed, and England had to contend without an ally against the

growing power of her enemies. Besides the defection of the Duke of Burgundy, another event happened at this time still more fatal to England. This was the death of the Duke of Bedford, which took place while the congress was still sitting. His death was followed by the loss of Paris, which admitted a French army within its walls, and compelled the English garrison, under Lord Willoughby, to capitulate, though on honourable terms. The arrival of Richard, Duke of York, and Talbot, Lord Shrewsbury, revived the waning fortunes of England. Talbot defeated a French army near Rouen, and surprised the important town of Pontoise.

Death of the  
Duke of Bed-  
ford. A. D.  
1435.

Paris opens  
its gates to  
Charles.

In 1437, the Duke of York was succeeded by the Earl of Warwick, with the title of Lieutenant-General and Governor of France. He died at Rouen, two years after, without having achieved anything notable.

The capture of Meaux, by the Constable of France, in 1439, had its set-off in the recapture of Harfleur by Talbot, in the same year. But Charles soon after extended his operations to Guienne, where he reduced several fortresses, and, after a bloody engagement, regained possession of the town of Pontoise.

In this adverse current of events, Cardinal Beaufort and the party which acted with him in the English council, deemed it wisest to make a truce, if not a peace, with France, and so at least secure the present possessions in that country. To aid this policy, it was also resolved and carried by the same party, that the Duke of Orleans should be liberated,\* on payment of 40,000 nobles, and the promise of a further sum in six months, but with the condition that he should return to captivity should he not prevail on Charles to sign a peace within the year. The immediate result was an armistice of two years, during which, it was hoped, means might be found for a final adjustment of opposing claims. The liberation of the Duke of Orleans was strongly opposed by Gloucester; but to the mortification of this defeat was added one still more bitter—the accusation of his wife, Eleanor Cobham, of acting as an accomplice of a witch who, at her solicitation, made use of necromantic practices to quicken the king's death. The witch was condemned to be burned, and Dame Eleanor, as she was

Liberation  
of the Duke  
Orleans.

\* He had remained a prisoner of war, from the battle of Agincourt.



The Duchess  
of Gloucester  
compelled to  
do public pen-  
ance, A. D.  
1441.

called, was compelled to do public penance, by walking with a lighted taper in her hand on three days of the week through the streets of London, after which she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

King Henry had grown up to manhood with a character as marked by freedom from vice as by lack of capacity. His feeble will and imperfect intellect necessarily made him but a puppet in the hands of those about him. But such a character made the selection of a wife for him a most important matter, as it was clearly seen that whoever she was she would obtain complete control over him. He was in his twenty-third year when this mission was undertaken. After a struggle between Gloucester, who recommended the daughter of the Count of Armagnac, and his uncle, the cardinal, who recommended Margaret, daughter of René, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, and Duke of Maine, Anjou, and Bar. Margaret, though the most accomplished princess of the age, was entirely without a dowry, for in spite of her father's numerous titles he did not possess an acre of land within the limits of any one of his dominions. This objection, however, was overlooked, and the Earl of Suffolk, who negotiated the treaty, made it a secret article that, on the completion of the marriage, Anjou and Maine should be surrendered to René. Margaret arrived soon after in England, and was crowned with the usual ceremony at Westminster. Some three years after this the Duke of Gloucester, while attending parliament, was suddenly arrested on a charge of high treason, and thrown into prison. About a fortnight later he was found dead in his bed, but without any marks of violence on his body. The suspicion at once was that he had been murdered by emissaries of Beaufort and Suffolk. The cardinal, who did not survive his nephew more than six weeks, was most probably guiltless of any share in such a crime, and his last moments were very different from those agonies of despair which the genius of Shakspeare so vividly paints.

Marriage of  
the King, A. D.  
1446.

Death of the  
Duke of Glou-  
cester and of  
Cardinal  
Beaufort.

The death of the cardinal removed the last powerful member of the king's family from his council. The joint favour of the king and queen conferred all power on De la Pole, now Duke of Suffolk. But this nobleman had already become unpopular; he was suspected of the murder of Gloucester, and when, shortly after, the cession of Maine was followed by the loss of Normandy, Guienne,

and every English possession in France, save Calais, the people grew furious, and in their blind wrath sought to visit on the favourite what were but the results of ill-fortune.

At the next meeting of parliament he was arrested on a charge of high treason preferred by the Commons, and committed to the Tower. A Bill of Impeachment of eight articles, followed by another of ten, showed that no defence could avail; his enemies sought his blood; nor would they grant a subsidy till his sentence was announced. The king, in these delicate circumstances, desirous of saving his friend's life and yet of appeasing the popular clamour, banished him for five years. This penalty

Impeachment of Suffolk.

was deemed so inadequate by the infuriated populace, that efforts were made to seize him as he escaped from prison. He escaped for the time, but as he approached Calais his vessel was intercepted by one of the largest ships of the navy, which at once took him aboard. On reaching the deck he was received with the ominous salutation, "Welcome, traitor." Two days later a small boat came alongside. In it were a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner. Suffolk was let down into it, and had his head struck off—but not till after the sixth stroke. This cruel act was the cause of the keenest grief to both king and queen. It was, however, but the prelude to still greater troubles. The discontent of the people, which in many places found expression in threats against the Government, in Kent broke out into open insurrection. The feelings of the Kentish men had been for some time artfully inflamed by rumours of the vengeance which the king intended to take on them for supplying the ships that intercepted and murdered Suffolk. It required but a leader to make this mass of smouldering passion formidable, and such an one was opportunely found in an Irishman, whose real name was John, or Jack Cade, but who had assumed the name of Mortimer, cousin to the Duke of York. He marched to Blackheath at the head of 20,000 men, while the king marched with about an equal number to London. While at Blackheath Cade had forwarded to the king two papers—one, "Complaints of the Commons of Kent;" another, "The requests of the captain of the great assembly of Kent." The grievances complained of in these documents were not all such as seemed to press heavily on the Commons of Kent; they complained that the king had excluded from

He is banished by the king.

His death.

Insurrection of Jack Cade, A. D. 1450.

his council lords of his own blood, to make way for men of low rank; that sheriffs and tax collectors practised extortion in their dealings with the people; that the elections of knights of the shire were not free, but decided by the interest of the lords; that delays and obstacles in the administration of justice had increased. The requests contained a demand for the banishment from court of all the king's friends, the punishment of the late Duke of Gloucester's murderers, as also of all those to whom the popular voice ascribed the loss of the French provinces. On the approach of the royal army Cade retired; but at Seven Oaks, in Kent, he turned on Sir Humphrey Stafford, who, with a force of 7,000 royalists, followed up his retreat. Stafford was defeated and slain, and Cade, emboldened by his success, returned to Blackheath and entered London. Here for two days he maintained strict discipline, but on the third day the pillage of some houses roused the citizens, who, being assisted by Lord Scales and a thousand men from the Tower, succeeded in driving the invaders from the city. Pardons were now industriously distributed, and by many of the insurgents gratefully accepted. Cade, seeing his troops gradually disperse, sought his own safety in flight. He was pursued by Iden, the sheriff of Kent, who overtook and slew him near Lewes, in Sussex. His leading followers were afterwards secured and executed. It is said many confessed that the object was to place the Duke of York on the throne. During their short rule in London the insurgents fell in with Lord Say, an obnoxious minister, and his son-in-law, Cromer, sheriff of Kent, whom, after mock trials, they at once put to death.

Richard,  
Duke of  
York.

The Duke of York, who had been entrusted with the government of Ireland, now returned to England, had an interview with the king, in which he behaved with rudeness and insolence, and having exacted a promise that he would summon a parliament, retired to his castle at Fotheringay. This nobleman had already set his mind on laying claim to the crown, on the first opportunity. Through his mother, Anne,\* sister to the Earl of March, he represented the claims of the House of Mortimer, to which, on the

\* She married Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded by Henry V., in 1414, for being concerned in a plot to raise her brother to the throne.

death of Richard II., the right of succession undoubtedly belonged. But as the king was as yet without issue, he had hopes that he might compass his object without the risk of a civil war. On the king's side was his kinsman, the Duke of Somerset, who arrived from Normandy at the same time that York arrived from Ireland. He had, however, the great disadvantage of returning defeated, and after having lost that province to the enemy, and so was regarded by many as another traitor who, like Suffolk, had sold the country to France. York and Somerset represented the two great parties into which the country began sharply to divide itself; York, besides the support of the powerful barons allied to his family, was the favourite of the populace; Somerset enjoyed the fullest confidence of the court.

In the parliament of 1450, a motion was made by a member, named Young, that the Duke of York should be declared heir-apparent to the throne; but such a proposal was very coldly received, and a few days later the mover of it was committed to the Tower. While this parliament was sitting, the Duke of York and his friends had made arrangements to appeal to the sword when a favourable occasion offered. He himself soon after levied a force of some 3,000 men, with which he marched towards London. He found the gates of the city shut, and the king at the head of an army marching towards him. The mild, religious nature of the king, desirous of avoiding bloodshed, sent messengers demanding explanation of his conduct. He complained that attempts had been made to arrest him, and demanded that certain persons should be committed to the Tower. The king, to satisfy him, ordered the Duke of Somerset into custody, on which York disbanded his army, and soon after accepted an invitation from the king to visit him in his tent. There he found Somerset, who retorted on him all the charges he had made against him. York, on leaving the king, was arrested, but on swearing fealty to him, was liberated and restored to favour.

Arrest of  
the Duke of  
York; he  
swears fealty  
to the King.

An attempt was at this time made, in answer to a deputation of the inhabitants, of recovering Guienne. Four thousand men, under Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury, a veteran then in his eightieth year, sailed for that province. He was followed by his son, Lord Lisle, at the head of an equal number. Their earlier operations were attended with complete success; but, in an attempt to relieve the fortress of Chatellon, their small force was overwhelmed by the

Attempt of  
Lord Talbot  
to reconquer  
Guienne.  
A. D. 1453.

superior force of the enemy, and father and son perished in the field.

The joy of the people at the success with which the campaign opened but deepened their mortification at its unfortunate termination, and there were many who ascribed the loss of this, as of the other provinces, to the secret treason of the king's advisers.

Birth of  
Prince Edward, A. D.  
1285.

It was during the prosperous opening of this Guienne enterprise that, to the joy of all but the Yorkists, the queen was delivered of a son and heir, whom she called Edward. The event was hailed by all lovers of peace, as banishing all chances of civil war, and securing a tranquil succession. But at this very time the king was visited with a malady which, attacking his body and mind, rendered him unable to transact any business, and it was found necessary to call in York to open parliament, as his lieutenant. After a committee of peers had visited the king and certified his incapacity, an Act was passed by which York was made "Protector," but with the precautions that, as in the case of Gloucester, during the minority of the present prince, it should import not the authority of Government, but the duty of heading the army in case of invasion and civil war.

King's malady.

The king's malady, however, did not last, and on his recovery York's protectorate ceased. That nobleman, however, had made use of his term of power to send to the Tower his rival Somerset. He was now released by the king.

First battle  
of St. Albans.

An attempt was now made by the kindly-hearted monarch to induce or compel those rival lords to submit their differences to arbitrators. Both agreed to do so; but York, on leaving court, set out for the Welsh Marches, where he levied a force of 3,000 men, and being joined by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, marched to St. Albans, where they came up with Henry, at the head of a very inferior force. The rebels first demanded the surrender of Somerset and his friends, but this the king courageously refused. Thereupon the troops of Warwick, after overcoming a stubborn resistance, burst into the town, the royalists fled, and the king found himself a prisoner in the hands of the duke. In this, the first battle in the long civil war, a great many Lancastrian nobles fell. Among them were the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Stafford, and Lord Clifford.

The king was treated by his captor with the greatest exterior deference, but he was compelled to give his sanction to acts the most injurious to his own interests and dignity. At the following parliament, opened at York, he was made to grant a full pardon to all those concerned in the affair of St. Albans. This done, the lords renewed their fealty, and the session was prorogued.

Another visitation of the king's malady called York once more to the office of protector, an office from which he seems at this time to have hoped to pass to the higher one of his ambition. But the more helpless the king seemed, the more was the sympathy of the nation, on whom his gentle and virtuous nature had made a deep impression, aroused in his behalf. It would have been dangerous to provoke this mass of feeling; and accordingly, on the king's recovery, York, as before, descended from his eminence, and the reins of authority were restored to the royal hands.

His great object was to reconcile the opposing lords, but though the task seemed far more difficult on account of the vengeance claimed by the blood spilt at St. Albans, he apparently succeeded. The king himself arranged the terms, to which all agreed, after which a procession, in which those lately mortal enemies walked arm and arm, and the queen herself was led by the Duke of York, set out for St. Paul's to render thanksgiving for the accomplishment of the good work. But this edifying spectacle did not inaugurate the era of peace and harmony that were hoped from it. A petty quarrel between some retainers of the king and those of the Earl of Warwick, gave this latter nobleman a pretext to declare his life in danger, and he forthwith sped to the north to take counsel with the Duke of York. The result of the conference was seen in the rising of the Earl of Salisbury, in the autumn of 1459, to unite his forces to those of York on the Welsh borders. As he passed through Staffordshire, he came up at Bloreheath with a royalist army of 10,000 men, under Lord Audley; these he threw into confusion by a feigned flight, after which he turned and won a complete victory. Audley, with 2,000 of his men, was slain. The victor then united his forces with those of the Duke of York, and was soon after joined by his son Warwick from Calais.

Their plans were, however, frustrated by the secession of Sir John Tresham, who, on perceiving their treasonable object, at once seceded with his whole force to the king,

*Dispersion of  
the rebel lords  
A. D. 1459.*

who, at the head of an army of 60,000 men, lay close at hand. The confederates were alarmed, and fled in different directions, some to Wales, York to Ireland, and Warwick to his government of Calais. This bloodless victory greatly delighted the kindly heart of the king, who had the utmost repugnance to spilling blood. This event took place at Ludiford, near Worcester.

They separated only to recruit their forces; in the following year Warwick returned, and having been refused an interview with the king, came up with the royalist army at Northampton, and, aided by the treachery of Lord Grey of Ruthyn, defeated them with great slaughter. As was usual where Warwick commanded, the nobles in his enemies' ranks were especially sought out for destruction. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Beaumont, the Lord Egremont, besides three hundred knights were left on the field. Henry himself was made prisoner, but the queen and prince escaped to Chester, whence they made their way to Scotland.

The king was led to London, which he entered with great pomp, and a parliament was called. While it was sitting, York entered the house, and stood for a time with his hand resting on the throne, as though he expected to be invited to seat himself in it. But instead, there was a dead silence, and the duke, evidently mortified, soon after left.

He then resolved openly to avow his claim to the crown, and after elaborate arguments from both sides, the peers arrived at a compromise, that Henry should be king for life, but that York should succeed him. To this the king was compelled to sign his assent, thus disinheriting his own son. The queen, however, did not tamely acquiesce in this arrangement; with the aid of the Lancastrian lords, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Clifford, Dacres, and Neville, she assembled an army at York, which came up with the Yorkists, under York and Salisbury, at Wakefield. The latter were defeated with great slaughter, more than 2,000 of their number being left on the field. Among the slain was the Duke of York himself; Salisbury was made prisoner during the night, and beheaded on the following day. The young Earl of Rutland, a youth of eighteen, son of the Duke of York, in his efforts to escape, encountered Lord Clifford, who, on learning who he was, stabbed him to the heart, fiercely exclaiming: "As thy father slew mine, so I will slay thee, and all thy kin." This was made the justification of an equally brutal act later on.

Battle of  
Northampton.  
The king a pri-  
soner. A. D.  
1460.

York claims  
the crown:  
sword of the  
peers. A. D.  
1460.

Battle of  
Wakefield  
A. D. 1460.

Edward, heir to the late Duke of York, was at Gloucester when he heard of his father's defeat and death. Having collected what forces he could, he marched towards London, closely followed by a royalist army, composed mainly of Welsh, and under the command of Earl Pembroke, the king's half-brother, and his father Sir Owen Tudor. At Mortimer's cross, Edward turned on his pursuers, and gained a complete, but bloody victory. Tudor and others were made prisoners, and in retaliation for the execution of those taken at Wakefield, were immediately beheaded.

Battle of  
Mortimer's  
Cross, 1461.

The queen, meantime, had marched south, and at St. Albans came up with the army of the Earl of Warwick. After a prolonged and desperate resistance the Yorkists were again utterly defeated, and only escaped destruction through the darkness. The king, whom the fugitives had neglected in their flight, was safely restored to his wife and son, and their meeting, after such a trying separation, was of the utmost tenderness.

Second bat-  
tle of St.  
Albans.

The king at once cancelled the late award by which Richard of York had been declared his heir, as an act extorted from him by violence. He also issued orders for the arrest of Edward, Earl of March, son and heir of the late Duke of York. But, as Edward had already united his forces with those of the Earl of Warwick, the royalists deemed it prudent to retreat northwards. Instead of pursuing, he entered London in great pomp. The populace received him with acclamation; on which he had them sounded as to their thoughts on his claim to the Crown. His rights were expatiated upon by Lord Falconberg and the Bishop of Exeter, and the approving shouts of the people were so encouraging, that on the following day he had a resolution carried in the great council that Henry, by joining the queen, had broken the award and forfeited the Crown. After this he rode to Westminster, where, mounting the throne, he explained to the assembly the claims of his family. He was interrupted by enthusiastic shouts of "Long live King Edward!" His accession was then announced by heralds, in the customary manner, in various parts of the city. This terminated the reign of Henry, a prince whose mental and physical incapacities rendered him unfit to contend with the many difficulties of his situation, but whose many virtues won the love of his subjects and extorted admiration from his very enemies.

Edward, son  
of the late  
Duke of  
York, pro-  
claimed King  
in London,  
A. D. 1461.



## KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF YORK.

## EDWARD IV.—1461-1483.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	Kings of France.	King of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Frederick III.	Charles VII., 1461. Louis XI.	James III.	Henry IV., 1474. Isabella and Ferdinand.	Pius II., 1464. Paul II., 1471. Sixtus IV.

Battle of  
Towton, A. D.  
1461.

Coronation  
of Edward.

Return of  
Edward's  
brothers.

Margaret  
obtains aid  
from Louis,  
and returns  
to England.

Though Edward had assumed the authority and title of king, the adherents of Henry were still powerful, and the issue remained to be decided by force. Accordingly, Warwick and Edward, with an army of 50,000 men, set out for the north, where a Lancastrian army of 60,000, under the command of the Duke of Somerset, awaited their advance. The battle came off near the village of Towton. It began at nine in the morning and lasted till three in the afternoon. About that time the Lancastrians began to give way, when, finding their retreat cut off by a river in their rear, they abandoned themselves to despair; some flung themselves on the swords of their pursuers; others plunged into the river and were drowned. Edward had forbidden his followers to give quarter, and the consequence was a butchery hitherto unprecedented. Over 30,000 Lancastrians were left dead on the field. The victory was decisive, and Edward hastened soon after to London, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. His brothers George and Richard now left their asylum in Flanders and joined him. The former he created Duke of Clarence, the latter Duke of Gloucester.

Margaret, after the battle, had escaped to Bretagne, whence she set out for the French court at Chinon. Louis XI. received her kindly, but her appeals for aid in men and money proved entirely ineffectual till she offered the security of Calais. On this Louis gave her 20,000 crowns, and placed at her service a body of 2,000 men, under the command of Brezé, Seneschal of Normandy. With these, and such other forces as she could collect, she returned, and, being joined by her Scotch allies and her adherents in the northern counties, captured, at the outset, the three fortresses of Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh. This success, however, was but temporary; when the Earl

of Warwick, with 20,000 men appeared on the scene, and it was known that Edward himself was to follow after with as many more, the Lancastrians became dispirited and broke up; the queen and her French auxiliaries betook themselves to their ships. Warwick next divided his army into three bodies, and laid siege simultaneously to the three fortresses, which, after a valiant and prolonged resistance, were successively compelled to surrender.

It was at this period that the brave Queen Margaret endured the most severe sufferings and privations. Riding on one occasion through a mountainous country, accompanied by Brezé and her son, the party was set upon by a band of robbers, who despoiled them of everything valuable they possessed. It fortunately happened, however, that they could not agree among themselves as to the distribution of the booty: a violent quarrel commenced, on which the queen, seizing the prince's hand, rushed with him into the thick of the wood. They had not advanced far when they fell in with another robber. Inspired by despair, the queen resolved to appeal to the man's better nature. Pointing to the young prince, she said: "Friend, I entrust to your loyalty the son of your king." The man was touched by this generous confidence, took them under his protection, and led them safely to the Lancastrian camp.

Margaret  
attacked by  
robbers.

The queen soon after sailed to France, where she occupied herself in seeking aid for a new attempt to depose the usurper of her husband's crown. During her absence a number of the lords of her party—Somerset, Percy, and Sir Ralph Grey, a disappointed Yorkist—ventured to try once more the fortune of battle. But before their arrangements were complete, Nevile, Lord Montague, warden of the eastern marches, attacked, defeated, and slew Percy in the battle of Hedgeley Moor, and following up his success, chased Somerset and his troops from Hexham. Somerset himself was taken and beheaded. King Henry narrowly escaped capture during this flight; but though he thus escaped for the time, his place of concealment was ultimately betrayed, and the unfortunate monarch was again in the hands of his enemies. At Islington he was met by Warwick, who, by proclamation, forbade any marks of respect to be paid him, tied his feet to the stirrups; then led him three times round the pillory, and finally conveyed him to the Tower.

Battles of  
Hedgeley  
Moor and  
Hexham, A.D.  
1464.

The defeats at Hedgeley and Hexham had completely

Edward's  
treaties with  
foreign  
powers.

Edward's  
marriage with  
the Lady  
Elizabeth  
Grey, A.D.  
1464.

Discontent  
of the Nevils.

crushed the hopes of the Lancastrians, while they seemed to secure to Edward a future of undisturbed peace. This was still further assured by the treaties of friendship and alliance into which he entered with the principal princes in Christendom, the Kings of Scotland, Denmark, Poland, Castile, Arragon, and the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne. But trouble arose from a cause from which he could hardly have expected it. This was his secret marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, the daughter of Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford, and Sir Richard Woodville, her second husband. Elizabeth, their daughter, had been married to Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian knight; but after his death, in the second battle of St. Albans, she returned to reside with her parents. Here, during a visit paid by Edward to the duchess and her husband, Elizabeth threw herself on her knees and besought the king to restore to her children the confiscated estates of their father. Edward was deeply moved, but his feelings quickly changed from pity to love. This love Elizabeth would only accept on condition that she became his wife; and the king, knowing the hopelessness of shaking her resolution on this point, agreed to a private marriage, which was celebrated in April, 1464. Besides the priest and his clerk, there were present only the duchess and two female attendants. It was not till the following Michaelmas that the king thought it prudent to make this marriage public in a great council of peers summoned for that purpose. The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, who were supposed to have disapproved of the marriage, led Elizabeth by the hand and presented her to the other peers, who acknowledged her as queen. She was soon after crowned at Westminster. But though both parliament and the people testified their approval in public, there was much secret irritation at this sudden elevation of persons lately so obscure. The powerful family of the Nevils, the virtual rulers of the kingdom, saw in it the death-blow to their own influence. These three brothers were sons of the Earl of Salisbury, cousin to the late Duke of York, and slain with him at the battle of Wakefield. It was to the skill, bravery, and immense popularity of the Earl of Warwick, the eldest brother, that Edward in all probability owed his crown. In return, Warwick, besides being generalissimo and chief minister to the king, held also the offices of chamberlain, warden of the western marches, and Governor of Calais.

His second brother, Lord Montague, was made warden of the eastern marches, and afterwards received the estates of the Percys, with the title of the Duke of Northumberland. The third brother was appointed chancellor at the king's accession, and from his former see of Exeter was transferred to the archiepiscopal see of York.

To the opposition of the Nevils was shortly added that of the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence. This prince, on the pretence that his presence at his brother's court was rendered intolerable by the ascendancy of the Woodvilles, repaired to the Earl of Warwick. But his marriage soon after with Isabella, daughter of that nobleman, affords a more probable explanation of his departure. This marriage was celebrated at Calais by the Archbishop of York, the bride's uncle, and not only without the king's consent, but in spite of all his efforts to prevent it.

The Duke of  
Clarence joins  
Warwick.

It was while the archbishop and Warwick were in Calais that a popular insurrection broke out in Yorkshire. To the number of fifteen thousand, under a commander called Robert of Redesdale, the insurgents marched towards York; but the Duke of Northumberland, to save the town, attacked and defeated them, and had their leader beheaded. This defeat, however, did not check the progress of the rebels, who, under new and more powerful leaders, increased in number and boldness. Of these leaders, two were near relatives of Warwick, viz., Lords Fitzhugh and Latimer—the former his nephew, and the latter his cousin-german.

Insurrec-  
tion in York-  
shire, 1466.

Rebels de-  
feated.

Edward, on the first news of the outbreak, had marched to the north, but becoming intimidated at the numbers and menaces of the insurgents, he invited Clarence, Warwick, and his brother, the archbishop, who had returned from Calais, to meet him in Nottingham. But, instead of obeying, they levied an army in Kent, intending to march at its head and present to the king the petition of the Commons. The king's only resource now was in the forces which the Earls of Pembroke and Devon were leading to his support. But it unfortunately happened that as these lords entered the town of Banbury, a quarrel of some sort arose between them, and Pembroke, whose troops consisted mainly of Welsh, left Devon and his archers in possession. But Lord Fitzhugh, who with a strong body of insurgents chanced to be in the neighbourhood, seeing the Welsh unprotected by the archers, at once attacked and defeated them with great slaughter. Pembroke and his brother

Battle of  
Banbury.  
A.D. 1466.

Edward a  
prisoner.

Insurrection  
in Lincoln-  
shire. A.D.  
1470.

Warwick  
and Clarence  
proclaimed  
traitors. They  
escape to  
France.

Alliance be-  
tween Mar-  
garet and War-  
wick. A.D.  
1470.

were among the slain. The queen's father, the Earl Rivers, his son, Sir John Woodville, and the Earl of Devon were afterwards taken, and, by Warwick's orders, beheaded. That nobleman now, with his brother and the Duke of Clarence, set out in search of the king. They found him at Olney, in a state of great despondency from his recent disasters. He began to vent his suspicions and displeasure, but very soon checked himself on learning that he was, in fact, Warwick's prisoner. After a few months, however, he seems to have made terms with his captor, and obtained his liberty. The reconciliation seemed complete, but the outbreak shortly after of an insurrection in Lincolnshire, under Sir Robert Welles, proved its hollowness. This leader had come into premature collision with the royalist army, his followers were defeated and he himself taken and beheaded. At his death, he made a confession that the insurrection was got up at the suggestion of Warwick and Clarence, and that it had for its object to place the latter on the throne instead of his brother Edward. Warwick and Clarence had purposed to join Welles on the following day, but his defeat and death marred all. The king summoned them to answer the charges against them, and, on their non-appearance, declared them traitors, and set a price on their heads. Unable to cope with the royal forces, they marched to Southampton, whence they set sail for the French coast and landed at Harfleur. Here they were received with great distinction, and were invited soon after to visit the French court. Among those staying at that court at the time was Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou. To effect a reconciliation between her and Warwick, now that they had a common enemy to contend with, became the great object of Louis. His efforts were finally successful, both swore to forget the past, and Warwick acknowledged Henry for his lawful king. To cement the alliance more firmly, it was agreed that Prince Edward should marry Anne, Warwick's daughter. But as this arrangement could not be pleasing to Clarence, it was added, that on failure of issue of the marriage, the right of succession should, on the death of the Prince, belong to Clarence and his heirs.

These arrangements made, the exiles embarked under the protection of a French fleet, and landed safely at Plymouth and Dartmouth. At the time, the king, with all available forces, was away in the north, whither he was

drawn by a pretended insurrection designedly got up by Lord Fitzhugh, to prepare the way for the landing of his friends in the south.

Warwick, on landing, proclaimed Henry VI., and summoned all men between sixteen and sixty to his standard. He was at once joined by the men of Kent, and as he marched north the number of his followers daily increased. To the king's summons, on the other hand, no response was made; those whom he expected to join him either remained at home or went over to the enemy. On one day 6,000 men who had hitherto worn the white rose, flung it away, and then shouted, "Long live King Harry." Edward, seeing this universal defection, became alarmed for his own safety, and resolved to make his escape to the Continent. He rode to the town of Lynn, where, with about 800 followers, he embarked and landed safely near Alkmaar, in Holland.

Warwick returns and proclaims Henry.

Edward's soldiers desert him. He flies to Holland.

Warwick and Clarence now entered London in triumph; King Henry was liberated from the Tower, and marched with the crown on his head in solemn procession to St. Paul's. A parliament was summoned, which, with the usual pliancy, declared Edward a usurper, attainted his followers, and repealed all acts passed under his authority. The succession, as settled at the French court, was then confirmed by an Act of Settlement, and Warwick and Clarence were declared protectors of the realm during the minority of the Prince of Wales.

Henry restored, A. D. 1470.

Meantime Edward, having succeeded in inducing the Duke of Burgundy to place some ships and money at his disposal, embarked with his followers for England. The ships were driven by a storm into the Humber, and Edward, with some 1,500 followers, landed at Ravenspur. At first he proclaimed that he did not come to claim the crown, but to regain possession of the inheritance of his father. As the numbers of his followers, however, increased, he assumed the title of king, and marching to London was secretly admitted by the Archbishop of York, who by this act secured his own pardon, but ruined his brothers Warwick and Montague. Clarence, too, proved traitor; he had raised a considerable force in the name of King Henry, he now bade them wear the white rose of the Yorkists.

Edward returns.

At last the opposing armies met at the town of Barnet. A dense fog hung over the battle-field, and friends being frequently mistaken for foes, suspicions of treachery were

The battle of Barnet, A. D. 1471. Death of Warwick.

aroused, and many in this way withdrew from the field. At length word was carried to Edward that the body of Warwick had been found among the slain, and the news being rapidly spread the Lancastrians ceased further efforts, and victory remained with Edward. The death of Warwick, whose immense influence and unbroken series of victories had procured for him the name of "King-maker," was more welcome than the victory.

Margaret  
lands at Wey-  
mouth.

On the very day of the battle of Barnet Queen Margaret landed with a body of French auxiliaries at Weymouth. On learning the fatal result of that battle she at first abandoned herself to despair; but after a time was persuaded to place herself at the head of the Lancastrian lords who had raised a considerable force in the western counties. The queen sought to unite her army with that of the Earl of Pembroke in Wales; but the citizens of Gloucester had fortified the bridge over the Severn, and when she reached Tewksbury, Edward, with a more powerful army, was at hand. The Lancastrians at once entrenched themselves, and prepared for a stubborn defence. But Edward's superiority of force was too great; the entrenchments were forced, and the Lancastrians, losing all further hope, sought only means to escape. Among the prisoners was Edward, the Lancastrian Prince of Wales, a youth of great promise, then in his eighteenth year. Being asked what had brought him to England, he fearlessly replied, "To preserve my father's crown, and my own inheritance." On this Edward struck him in the face with his gauntlet, and Gloucester and Clarence despatched him with their swords. Margaret had sought refuge in a neighbouring church, but she was discovered and sent to the king, by whom she was committed to the Tower.

Murder of  
Prince Ed-  
ward.

King Henry was now the only member of his family round whom the Lancastrians could rally. It was not worth while to disturb him while his son lived; but now that he had been disposed of, it was resolved to get rid also of this last obstacle, and accordingly, soon after the battle of Tewksbury, his death was announced, and his body exposed to the people in St. Paul's. It was given out that he died of grief, but it was generally circulated and as generally believed that he was murdered, and that the foul deed was performed by the king's younger brother, Gloucester, whose hands had been already imbrued in the blood of his son. Edward was now freed from all anxiety

Death of  
Henry.

as to the security of his crown, but his peace was much troubled by the quarrels of his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, who could not agree as to their respective shares of the immense property of the Earl of Warwick. With great difficulty an apparent reconciliation was effected, and Edward, feeling himself at complete liberty, readily listened to a proposal of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, for a joint invasion of France.

Having by a treaty with the King of Scots secured the safety of the northern border, Edward crossed the channel with a force of 15,000 archers and 1,500 men-at-arms. But to his disgust and disappointment, he found the Duke of Burgundy, who was to have met him with all his forces, utterly unable to give him any aid. Louis, who doubtless knew the chagrin and mortification of Edward at the conduct of his ally, seized the occasion, and through his envoys suggested a bloodless accommodation of their differences. In the mood in which the English monarch was, he approved of the proposal, and agreed to return home on the following conditions: Louis to pay, during the year, 75,000 crowns; to settle on Edward an annuity of 50,000 crowns for life; to conclude a commercial treaty between the kingdoms for seven years; the dauphin to marry Edward's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, or, in case of her death, her younger sister, Mary. Louis granted every demand, and by the payment of a further sum of 50,000 crowns, he procured the liberation of Margaret of Anjou, whom Edward still kept prisoner in the Tower.

Edward in-  
vades France,  
A.D. 1474.

Peace with  
France. Treas-  
ury of Pecunia-  
ry, A.D. 1475.

This treaty, though satisfactory to both monarchs, was creditable to neither. The return of the expedition, which had been got together at so much expense, without having effected anything whatever, was the cause of much murmuring and discontent.

But the public attention was soon attracted by the quarrel between the king and his brother, Clarence, a quarrel, supposed to have been fomented by the malicious arts of the younger brother, Gloucester. Of the crimes laid to the duke's charge were his denial of the legitimacy of the king; his insinuation that the king was a magician, and so, unfit to rule a Christian nation; his enrolment of retainers without reservation of their allegiance to the king; his boast that he would yet win back for himself and his friends the lands of which they had been unjustly deprived; and his issue of orders to his retainers to be ready to meet him in arms at an hour's notice.

Clarence  
accused of  
treason. His  
sentence and  
death, A.D.  
1478.



He was tried on a charge of high treason before the peers, Edward himself acting as accuser, when, it is needless to add, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. Instead, however, of being publicly executed, he was committed to the Tower; but the announcement of his death within a fortnight left little doubt that it had been one of violence. Nothing is known as to the manner of it; the story that he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine rests on no support but popular rumour.

Louis XI.  
breaks the  
treaty

The conduct of Louis XI. in marrying the dauphin to Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, contrary to the article of the treaty of Pecquigny, by which that prince had been contracted to the Princess Elizabeth, greatly offended Edward. He desired to avenge the insult by a new invasion, but his health had long been undermined by sloth and indulgence, and when he was about to begin his preparations he was attacked by illness, slight at first, but which negligent treatment soon rendered mortal. He died in the forty-first year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign, and was buried in the new chapel at Windsor.

King's death.

His character.

Of his character, the most prominent element was an inordinate love of pleasure. Even in youth this often interfered with the plans of his adherents; but as he advanced in years, and found himself securely seated on the throne, he surrendered himself completely to indolence and sensuality. He had no trace of magnanimity in his nature, and his victories were almost invariably sullied with the most wanton cruelty.

His family.

Of his children, two sons and five daughters survived him. The sons were Edward, Prince of Wales, then in his twelfth year, and Richard, Duke of York, in his eleventh year. Of his daughters, four had been contracted or promised to European princes, but had ultimately to content themselves with English husbands. Elizabeth, contracted to the dauphin, married Henry VII.; Cecily, contracted to James of Scotland, married the Viscount Welles; Anne, who had been promised to Philip of Burgundy, married Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; and Catherine, destined for the Infanta of Spain, became the wife of the Earl of Devon. Bridget, the fifth daughter, became a nun.

## EDWARD V.—1483.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	King of France.	King of Scotland.	King of Spain.	Pope.
Frederic III.	James III.	Louis XI.	Ferdinand and Isabella.	Sixtus IV.

At the death of the king, his eldest son, Edward, resided with his mother's family in Ludlow Castle. He had been sent there ostensibly to overawe the Welsh, really that he might grow up attached to his maternal relatives.

It had now become necessary to bring the young king to London, and on the queen's proposal, her brother, the Earl of Rivers, and her son, Lord Grey, were entrusted with the duty. The royal party had reached Stony Stratford, near Northampton, when they were joined by Gloucester and Buckingham, returning from the north. The first meeting was warm and friendly; but as soon as Gloucester had sufficiently strengthened his forces, he suddenly turned on Rivers and Grey, charged them with alienating his nephew's affections, and immediately placed them under arrest. The two dukes then entered the royal apartment, where they seized his confidential servants, Sir T. Vaughan and Sir R. Hawse. The king burst into tears, but Gloucester, kneeling on both knees, assured him of his protection, and informed him that these measures were necessary for his safety. Rivers, Grey, and their companions were sent under guard to the Castle of Pontefract. As soon as the queen heard of this transaction, she rightly concluded that the ruin of her family was resolved on, and hastily retired with her daughters and younger son, Richard, to the sanctuary at Westminster.

Arrest of  
Lords Rivers,  
Grey, and  
others.

It was not till the day originally appointed for the coronation that Gloucester and the king entered London. The duke was ostentatious in his display of loyalty and respect to his nephew; he rode before him bareheaded, pointing him out from time to time to the acclamations of the multitude. The king was at first lodged in the bishop's palace, but, on the motion of Buckingham, he was afterwards removed to the Tower. Gloucester began now to unfold the wicked plot he had long been maturing. He wrote to his retainers to

The King  
removed to  
the Tower.

haste to London, as his life was in danger from the attempts of the queen and her family. Before this no one seems to have suspected the loyalty and good faith of the duke, and when it was known that he had been appointed Protector, the news was received with general satisfaction. No one gave the duke greater assistance in his opposition to the Woodvilles than the Lord Hastings, but for some reason that nobleman had now incurred his mortal enmity. One day, as the council was sitting in the Tower, the Protector entered. For a time he remained silent, till seizing the occasion of some remark made by Lord Hastings, he turned fiercely on that nobleman, called him a traitor, and declared he would not dine till his head was brought him. With these words he struck the table, and a number of armed men rushed into the room. They at once arrested the Lords Hastings and Stanley, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Ely. The three latter were securely confined, but Hastings was hurried into the courtyard, and after the first priest that could be found had heard his confession, his head was struck off on a block of wood that chanced to lie near the chapel door. On the very day that this tragedy was enacted in London, the prisoners of Pontefract, the Lords Rivers, Grey, and their companions, were, without even the form of trial, publicly beheaded. To the people it was deemed sufficient to say that they were traitors. This butchery was carried out under the supervision of Ratcliffe, the most cruel and unscrupulous instrument in giving effect to the bloody designs of his master.

Execution of  
Lord Hastings, and of  
the prisoners  
at Pontefract.

Having thus made away with his principal enemies, the Protector next resolved to get into his power the young king's brother, Richard, then in sanctuary with his mother at Westminster. With that view he went in his barge with a large company of peers, and among them the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a strong body of armed men to induce the queen to surrender the prince to his care. The archbishop was deputed to urge on the queen compliance with the request, and either through his persuasion, or that the queen, seeing refusal was useless, gave her consent, the unsuspecting youth was surrendered and conducted with unusual pomp to apartments in the Tower.

Richard  
Duke of York  
is sent to join  
the King in  
the Tower.

The Protector next took a strange step. There lived at this time in London a woman named Jane Shore, who, during the reign of Edward IV., had abandoned her husband for the company of that monarch. Gloucester now resolved

that an example should be made of her. Having first seized for his own use her jewellery and valuables, he handed her over to the ecclesiastical authorities to receive the canonical penalties attached to her offences. Bearing a lighted candle in her hand, and preceded by an officer carrying a cross, she walked barefooted through the streets of London, thronged with immense crowds, who had come forth to see her. What the motive of this act was it is hard to say, but it served one useful purpose, by bringing prominently before the minds of the people the licentious life of the late king.

*Penance of  
Jane Shore.*

Buckingham and his other adherents had now reached the metropolis, and the presence of an army of some twenty thousand men gave the Protector confidence to avow his aims. He secured the services of Dr. Shaw, brother of the Lord Mayor, to preach a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which he informed the people that the pretended marriage of the late king with the lady Elizabeth Grey was no marriage, inasmuch as he had entered into a previous marriage with the Lady Eleanor Boteler. The young princes were therefore illegitimate, and incapable of ascending the throne. But not content with this, he went further, and suggested grave doubts as to whether their father, King Edward, had not also been illegitimate. He pointed out the absence of all likeness between that monarch and the duke, his supposed father, while all men must admit that the Duke of Gloucester was the very image of that prince, and carried the proof of legitimacy in his countenance. As the preacher made this delicate reference, the subject of it, as if passing by accident, and unaware of the subject of the discourse, showed himself to the people. He had, doubtless, expected that his appearance would be the signal for cries of "Long live King Richard;" but not one was uttered, and the people instead looked at each other in silence and astonishment. The Protector moved on, and Dr. Shaw brought his harangue to a speedy conclusion. This first experiment had failed. It yielded, however, some valuable experience; so that the next effort, which was on the same plan, and under the charge of Buckingham, proved successful. Buckingham went over again, before a crowd assembled in front of the Guildhall, all the statements contained in Shaw's sermon; but not stopping there, he then boldly asked them whether, after all he had said, they would or would not have the Duke of Gloucester for king. The citizens

*Sermon of  
Dr. Shaw.*

*Speech of  
Buckingham  
at the Guild-  
hall.*

remained silent, but in the rare a few hired fellows threw up their caps, and shouted "Long live King Richard." This Buckingham, affecting to receive as the general voice of those present, thanked the meeting, and invited the principal members to meet him on the following day at Baynard's Castle, where the Duke of Gloucester then resided.

Accordingly, next morning Buckingham, accompanied by several lords and the Lord Mayor, demanded an audience of the Protector. After some hesitation and inquiries that might make the visit seem entirely unexpected they were admitted.

Deputation  
to the Protec-  
tor at Bay-  
nard's Castle.

Then the final farce began. Buckingham, speaking for the rest, went over the chief points previously dwelt on in Shaw's and his own orations. The illegitimacy of the children of Elizabeth Woodville, by reason of the prior marriage of King Edward to Lady Boteler, and the disqualification of the children of Clarence by virtue of their father's attainder, having been proved to the satisfaction of the speaker, he pronounced the Duke of Gloucester the only lawful heir to Richard, Duke of York, and so alone entitled to succeed his late brother. On the conclusion of the speech, the Protector, who took care to contradict no part of it, professed himself indifferent to the honours of royalty, and said he preferred to guard the crown for his nephew than wear it himself. Hereupon Buckingham again rose and declared that the English nation would know where to find a sovereign if the lawful heir to its crown obstinately refused to accept it. The last words of the duke seemed to throw the Protector into a fit of deep reflection, the result of which was that he declared himself willing to obey the voice of the people, and, in compliance with their petition, would from that time forward take upon him the royal estate and pre-eminence.

Richard  
assumes the  
royal title.

On the following day he went first to Westminster and after to St. Paul's. On his way to the latter, he was greeted with the acclamations of the populace, and on his arrival was met by the clergy in procession. This prosperous day, the 26th June, 1483, marks the first of his reign.

## RICHARD III.—1483-1485.

## CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	King of France.	King of Scotland.	Kings of Spain.	Popes.
Frederic III.	Louis XI., 1483. Charles VIII.	James III.	Ferdinand and Isabella.	Sixtus IV., 1484. Innocent VIII.

In about a fortnight after the scene at Baynard's Castle, Richard and his queen, Anne, widow of the Lancastrian Prince of Wales, and daughter of the late Earl of Warwick, were solemnly crowned at Westminster. King's coronation, A.D. 1483.

The opening of his reign was marked by favours to those who had assisted him, and the liberation and pardon of some of those hitherto kept in confinement. Among the former, Thomas, Lord Howard, was created Duke of Norfolk, and his son, Sir Thomas Howard, was made Earl of Surrey. Among the latter, Lord Stanley was not only set at liberty, but appointed steward of the household. Stanley's chief offence had been his marriage with the Countess dowager of Richmond, heiress of the Somerset family. The Archbishop of York also regained his freedom, and the Bishop of Ely was transferred from his prison in the Tower to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham. Acts of favour and clemency.

The king and queen, shortly after their coronation, set out on a journey to the North, where, as Duke of Gloucester, Richard had long been popular. He stopped at several towns on his way, to administer justice, hear petitions, and receive the homage of the surrounding gentry. At York, as a compliment to his northern subjects, the ceremony of coronation was repeated with the same pomp and magnificence as in London. But from scenes of festivity and display, Richard was soon recalled by the news of a formidable conspiracy in favour of the claims of the young princes. At the head of this conspiracy was Buck- The King and Queen make a tour through the country, A.D. 1483.  
  
Conspiracy in favour of the princes, headed by Buckingham.

ingham, who for some reason suddenly changed sides, and seemed now as anxious to restore the rightful heir as he had been previously to elevate the usurper. But just as the plans of the conspirators had reached maturity, and everything promised success, came the terrible news that the young princes whom they sought to liberate were no longer alive.

Murder of  
the princes,  
A.D. 1483.

The king  
allows the  
death of the  
princes to  
become  
known.

The crown  
offered to Earl  
of Richmond.

From the confession of the murderers, made in the following reign, it appears that Richard, after vainly tempting Brackenbury, the governor of the Tower, sent him an order to deliver to Sir James Tyrrel the keys of the fortress for twenty-four hours. This was done, and in the night, Tyrrel, with one of his grooms, Dighton, and Forest, a well-known assassin, ascended the stairs to the princes' chamber. Tyrrel remained without while his companions despatched their victims by smothering them with the bed-clothes. The bodies of the unhappy princes were then, by his orders, buried at the foot of the stairs. In the morning the keys of the Tower were returned to Brackenbury, and Tyrrel hastened to rejoin the king and inform him that the last obstacles to his security were removed. So foul a deed would naturally be kept from the knowledge of the people as long as possible; but Richard, on learning that the liberation of his victims was the object of the conspirators, permitted the fact of their death to be made known.

The news shocked equally friends and foes, but instead of terminating the rebellion, it gave new life to the movement, and many joined who had before held aloof. By the advice of Morton, Bishop of Ely, the party agreed to offer the crown to the young Earl of Richmond, on condition that he should marry the Princess Elizabeth. As Richmond was, through his mother, the representative of the House of Lancaster, while on Elizabeth, through the death of her brothers, devolved the claims of the rival House of York, such a marriage promised to unite all parties, and to offer a strong guarantee for the peace of the future. Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was the son of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and Margaret Beaufort, daughter of the Duke of Somerset. Edmund Tudor himself was the son of Catherine of France, queen of Henry V., by her second husband, Sir Owen Tudor, a Welsh knight. By his father's side, therefore, Henry Tudor was grandson of Queen Catherine, while through his mother.

Margaret, he was fifth in descent from John of Gaunt, and heir to the claims of the House of Lancaster.\*

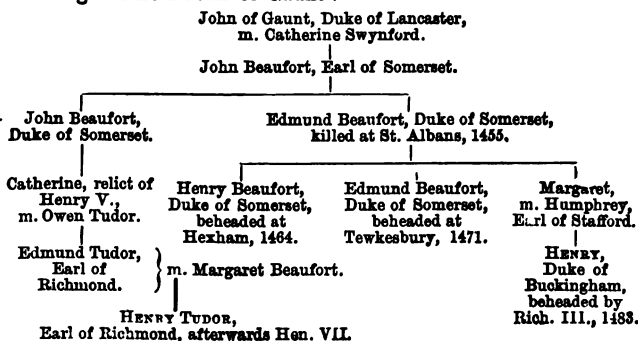
His descent, however, gave him no right to aspire to a seat on the throne. The issue of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford were born out of wedlock. When afterwards the duke married that lady, parliament passed an act legitimating the children, but with the special proviso that they and their heirs should for ever remain incapable of inheriting the crown. Buckingham, as will be seen from the table, stood in the same degree of descent from John of Gaunt as the Earl of Richmond, but it was through a younger brother.

Richmond  
had no real  
claim to the  
Crown

The Bishop of Ely's proposal having obtained the assent of the queen dowager and the Countess of Richmond, was forwarded to Richmond himself in Bretagne. In a fortnight his answer was received accepting the conditions, and promising to join his friends in England on the earliest opportunity. The news spread abroad, and the people in several counties rose and proclaimed him king. But Richard was not idle; he summoned his retainers to meet him at Leicester, proclaimed Buckingham, who raised the banner of insurrection at Brecon, a traitor, and issued a proclamation denouncing the aims of the rebels as including not only the destruction of the throne, but the ruin of all morality. A few days later he joined his army at Leicester.

Meantime things had gone badly with the confederates; Buckingham, unable to pass the Severn, the bridges being

\* Table showing descent of Earl of Richmond and of the Duke of Buckingham from John of Gaunt :—





Collage of  
Buckingham's  
rebellion, his  
capture and  
death

broken and the fords impassable, his army melted away, and he himself, having sought concealment in the house of a dependent, was treacherously delivered up to his enemies. Richard refused to see the man who had placed the crown on his head, and ordered his immediate execution.

Plot to seize  
Richmond and  
his friends,  
who remove  
to France.

Richmond had set out from St. Malo with a fleet of forty sail, but this was scattered by stormy weather, and on his arrival off the Devon coast his force was so small that he did not think it safe to land, and sailed back to Bretagne. Here, however, he soon got warning of a plot for the seizure of himself and his friends, for Richard had succeeded in purchasing the services of the Breton minister, Landois, who was all-powerful in his influence with his master, Duke Francis. The exiles saved themselves by a timely flight to French territory.

Treaty with  
Scotland  
A. D. 1444.

Richard, now free from immediate anxiety, found leisure to arrange a treaty of alliance with the King of Scots, whose subjects had lately given trouble to the inhabitants of the northern counties. But, in the midst of apparent peace his thoughts were perpetually occupied with the designs and plans of his enemies. Aware of the strength lent to the cause of the Earl of Richmond by his promise to marry Elizabeth, the king's niece, Richard actually resolved to mar the project by marrying the princess himself. From this unnatural alliance, strange to say, he was dissuaded, not by the objections of the young lady herself or her mother, but by the arguments or remonstrances of Ratcliffe and Catesby, the confidential instruments of all his schemes of blood and cruelty. But now the final contest drew near, and numerous defections of his former adherents showed the king how doubtful was the reliance to be placed on those who remained. Learning that his rival had set sail with a force of three thousand men, he placed watch along the coast and couriers on the main roads, while he himself took up his position at Nottingham. He was most anxious as to the fidelity of Lord Stanley. That nobleman having obtained permission to visit his estates, left his son, Lord Strange, as hostage with the king. Richmond's landing at Milford Haven being soon after announced, Richard summoned his retainers to meet him at Leicester. Among those who obeyed were the Dukes of Norfolk and Northumberland, and the Lords Lovel and Brackenbury. Lord Strange was ordered to

Richard pro-  
poses to mar-  
ry his niece.

Is dissuaded  
from it by  
Ratcliffe and  
Catesby.

Richmond  
lands, A. D.  
1445.

write to his father to hasten his return if he wished to save his son's life.

Richmond marched across Wales, and passed the Severn at Shrewsbury. At Newport he was joined by the Talbots, and at Stafford he had a secret interview with Sir William Stanley, and agreed that, to save the life of Lord Strange, he might retreat before him, offering a mock resistance. At Redmore, near Bosworth, on the 22nd August, 1485, the two armies met. In numbers, the king's army was double that of Richmond's, but it was utterly unreliable. The engagement was opened by the vanguards under the respective commands of the Duke of Norfolk on the king's side, and the Earl of Oxford on the side of Richmond. But on seeing the Stanleys arrayed against him, and the Duke of Northumberland holding aloof with all his forces, he became desperate, and chancing at the moment to catch a glimpse of his rival, he set spurs to his horse and rushed towards him with shouts of "Treason, treason!" On his way he killed at one stroke the standard-bearer, Sir William Brandon, with another hurled to the ground Sir John Cheney, and dealt a third at Henry himself. But he was now surrounded by numbers, flung from his horse, and immediately slain. Lord Stanley thereupon took up the crown and placed it on the head of the victor, amid enthusiastic shouts of "Long live King Henry." Besides, Richard himself, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers, and some 3,000 of their followers were slain. The loss on the side of the victor was very slight. The body of the fallen king was placed on a horse's back, and after being exposed for two days at Leicester, was buried in the church of Grey Friars.

Battle of  
Bosworth,  
Aug. 22, 1485.

Henry treated the prisoners who fell into his hands with great lenity. Only three suffered death, Catesby and two brothers, who probably deserved their fate by their crimes.

Richard had married Anne Nevil, daughter of Warwick, the "king-maker," and relict of Edward, son of Henry VI. By her he had a son, Edward, who died young. After this prince's death, he treated his nephew, the young Earl of Warwick, son of his brother, Clarence, as heir apparent, but he was afterwards replaced by the young Earl of Lincoln, son of the king's sister, the Duchess of Suffolk.

Richard's  
family.

Richard's character is the blackest in English history. His character. The utter callousness with which he perpetrated the most

horrid crimes to compass his object, the deep dissimulation with which he drew into his snares all who might oppose him, and the profound hypocrisy with which he disguised the most sinister ends under an appearance of virtue, were evidences of a nature so wholly bad, that it were vain to look in it for any trace of compensating virtues. The courage and capacity which are sometimes cited as a set-off to his wickedness were but the courage and capacity to do acts from which morality and humanity make other men recoil with horror.

**CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE FROM RICHARD II. TO  
RICHARD III.**

Kings.	Date.	Events.
Richard II.	1377	King's accession.
	1378	Commons obtain permission to inspect accounts of the royal treasurers.
	1381	Popular insurrection under Ball, Straw, Tyler, &c.
	1385	Richard invades Scotland, but returns without meeting the enemy.
	1386	John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, undertakes an expedition against the King of Spain.
	"	Earl of Suffolk impeached and imprisoned.
	1387	The Government in the hands of fourteen commissioners for a year.
	"	The king's favourites, De Vere, Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, the Archbishop of York, and others, are attainted of treason at the instigation of the Duke of Gloucester.
	1388	Richard regains his authority.
	1383-93	Statutes against provisors.
	1394	Richard in Ireland.
	1397	Impeachment of Gloucester's friends.
	"	Arrest and death of Gloucester.
	1398	Exile of the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk.
	1399	Richard acts as a despotic monarch.
	"	Visits Ireland.
	"	Hereford returns.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued*.

Kings.	Date.	Events.
Richard II. <i>continued</i> .	1399	The King returns to England ; is entrapped by a stratagem of Hereford ; signs an act of resignation ; is deposed by Parliament, and dies, or is murdered, soon after.
Henry IV.	1400	War with the Scotch.
	"	Rebellion of Owen Glendower in Wales.
	1402	Battle of Homildon Hill, in which the Scots were defeated, and the Earl of Douglas made prisoner.
	1403	Battle of Shrewsbury, and death of "Hotspur."
	1405	Execution of Scrope, Archbishop of York.
	1413	Statute against Heretics.
Henry V.	1414	Renews the claim of Edward III. to the crown of France.
	1415	Conspiracy against the King, and execution of the conspirators.
	"	Capture of Harfleur.
	"	Battle of Agincourt ; defeat of the French :
	1416	Returns to England.
	1417	Execution of Sir John Oldcastle, otherwise Lord Cobham.
	"	Henry lands in Normandy, which he slowly reduces.
	1418	Takes Rouen.
	1419	Murder of Duke of Burgundy.
	1420	Treaty of Troyes.
	1422	King's illness and death.
Henry VI.	1422	Duke of Bedford, Regent of France ; the Duke of Gloucester "Protector of the realm and Church of England."
	"	Death of Charles VI. of France, who is succeeded by the Dauphin with the title of Charles VII.
	1424	Gloucester marries Jacqueline of Hainault consequent breach with Duke of Burgundy.
	1428	Quarrel between Gloucester and his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort.
	"	Battle of Rouvail, or battle of Herrings.
	"	Siege of Orleans.
	1429	Siege raised by Joan of Arc.
	"	"The Maid," after defeating the English in several engagements, leads Charles to Rheims, where he is solemnly crowned.
	1431	"The Maid" a prisoner ; her trial and death.

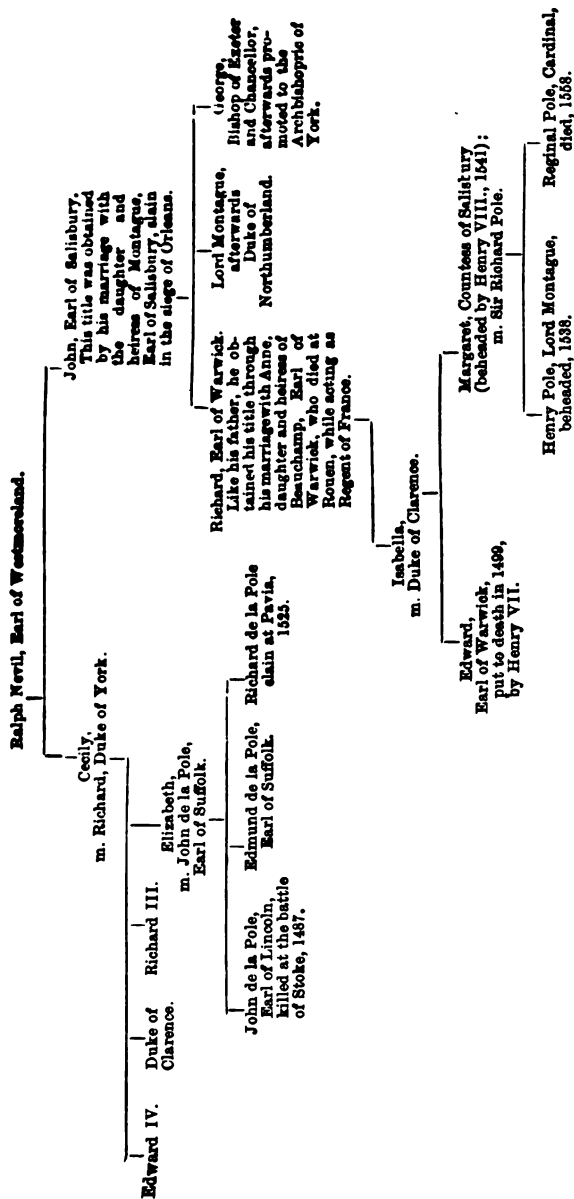
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued.*

Kings.	Dates.	Events.
Henry VI. <i>continued.</i>	1435	Congress of Arras; death of Bedford; alliance of Charles and the Duke of Burgundy.
	1441	Dependents of Gloucester tried and executed for dealing in the "black art." His duchess, "Dame Eleanor," obliged to do public penance.
	1444	The Earl of Suffolk negotiates a marriage between Henry and Margaret of Anjou.
	1447	Deaths of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort.
	1450	Arrest and impeachment of Suffolk; his capture and death.
	"	Cade's insurrection.
	1453	Henry is stricken by an ailment which incapacitates him for government.
	1456	Duke of York declared Protector.
	1455	First battle of St. Albans; won by the Yorkists; Henry prisoner.
	1460	York publicly claims the Crown.
	"	The Lords effect a compromise; Henry to be king for life, but the Duke of York and his heirs to succeed.
	"	Battle of Wakefield; victory for the Lancastrians; Richard, Duke of York, his son, the Earl of Rutland, and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, perished in or after it.
	1461	Second battle of St. Albans; won by the Lancastrians; Margaret and Henry meet in the camp.
	"	Edward, son of the Duke of York, defeats Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross.
Edward IV.	"	Edward enters London, where he is proclaimed king.
	1461	Battle of Towton; total defeat of Lancastrians.
	1463	Battles of Hedgely Moor and Hexham.
	1464	Edward marries secretly Elizabeth Woodville.
	1470	Insurrection in Lincolnshire—Flight of Clarence and Warwick to France.
	"	Treaty between Queen Margaret and Warwick.
	"	Henry restored; Edward takes to flight.
	1471	Return of Edward; battle of Barnet, and death and defeat of Warwick.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*continued*.

Kings.	Date.	Events
Edward IV. <i>continued.</i>	1471	Battle of Tewkesbury; Lancastrians defeated; Queen Margaret and her son, Prince Edward, prisoners; the latter brutally murdered.
	1475	Edward invades France, but is bought off by Louis XI.
Edward V. reign of seven wks.)	1478	Clarence found guilty of treason; his death.
	1483	Duke of Gloucester, Protector.
		Arrest of Lords Rivers and Grey, who were bringing the king to London.
		Murder of Lord Hastings and others.
		Dr. Shaw's sermon on the illegitimacy of Edward IV. and of his children.
Richard III.		Buckingham harangues the people in London Guildhall to the same effect.
		Buckingham heads a sham deputation requesting Richard, as rightful heir, to assume the Crown, to which he assents.
	1483	His coronation.
	„	Murder of the princes in the Tower.
	„	Buckingham's insurrection. His execution.
	1484	Richard proposes to marry his niece, Elizabeth.
	1485	Battle of Bosworth; death of Richard.

**TABLE SHOWING RELATIONS OF THE FAMILIES OF THE NEVILLS, POLES, AND DE LA POLES,  
WITH THE ROYAL HOUSE OF YORK.**



**NOTE.**—On the accession of Henry VII., the representatives of the House of York, in the order of right, were—(1) the daughters of Edward; (2) Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence; and (3) the three De la Poles, sons of Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. Richard III., on the death of his own son, Prince Edward, chose John De la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, as his heir.

SKETCH OF THE GROWTH OF THE CONSTITUTION FROM  
EDWARD III. TO RICHARD III.

The constitutional character of the fifteenth century can hardly be called one of progress. The constitution had become at the deposition of Richard II. very much what it remained at the death of Richard III. The Lancastrians were an honestly constitutional dynasty, and ruled according to the laws; but though what had been gained was conserved, no new developments, no fresh acquisitions of popular rights marked the sixty years of their rule. Under the Yorkists the existence of a constitution was ignored altogether, or only used to serve the monarch's own private ends.

Constitutional character of the fifteenth century.

The influence of the great charter, and of its repeated confirmations, had served to keep alive the spirit of liberty among the people, and throughout the whole period from the accession of Henry III. to the death of Edward III. there was a steady, continuous, and victorious struggle waged by the people to win for themselves a share in the national power, and a place in the national councils worthy of their position and importance in the state. There was not much of generosity in the struggle; such rights as the Commons won were for the most part wrung from the fears or the needs of weak or necessitous monarchs.

The long and costly wars of Edward III. left him so dependent on his people for the necessary supplies that he was glad to exchange concessions for subsidies. During his reign were thoroughly established, as Hallam has shown, three of the most important constitutional principles.

1. The illegality of levying taxes without consent of parliament.
2. The necessity for the concurrence of lords and commons for the enactment of new laws.
3. And the right of accusing and demanding the punishment of evil ministers or councillors.

Constitutional gains at death of Edward III.

The first of these principles was clearly implied in Magna Charta, and had been extorted from Edward I. by Archbishop Winchelsea, and the Barons of Hereford and Norfolk. From that time it became illegal to levy aids or impose tallages by the sole authority of the king. The repeated appeals of Edward III. to his parliament, and the persistent assertion of the principle by the latter whenever it was attempted to evade or disregard it, brought it from the realm of theory to practice, and so rendered its establishment certain, and its violation more difficult and rare.

1. No taxes to be raised without consent of parliament. This principle guides the practice.

The second principle is acknowledged in the very language of the writ summoning the Commons to Parliament, "to consent to whatever might be ordained by common advice." In fact, most of the statutes were but the petitions of the Commons which had been granted, and were then reduced to regular forms.

2. Concurrence of both houses necessary for the passing of a law.

Laws were usually spoken of as made by the king at the request of the Commons, and with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal. Hallam illustrates the importance attached to this principle in the minds of the Commons, by their petition to the king in 1354, praying "because many articles touching the state of the king and the common profit of his kingdom have been agreed by him, the

Statutes were chiefly founded on the petitions of the Commons.



Commons request the king to turn certain ordinances into statutes, A. D. 1364.

3. Right of impeachment, A. D. 1377.

4. Right to appropriate the revenue to its proper objects, A. D. 1377.

5. Right of audit over the public accounts, A. D. 1407.

6. All money grants to be made by the Commons, with the as-

prelates, lords, and commons of his land at his council, that the said articles may be entered on the roll; for this cause, that ordinances and agreements made in council are not of record, as if they had been made in a general parliament." The petition was granted, and in the next parliament the ordinances were turned into a statute. In this case the Commons, though they had themselves assented to the ordinances, were yet resolved to mark clearly the principle that no agreement but that of the two houses regularly assembled in parliament could confer on an enactment the force of a law or statute.

The third of the above principles receives its earliest illustration in the action taken by the Good Parliament against the Lords Latimer, Nevil, and others in the year 1377. The proceedings against the two De la Poles, the first in 1386, and the second in 1450, afford other instances of its exercise.

The minority of Richard II., and the exhausted state in which Edward III. had left the treasury, offered favourable opportunities to the Commons to advance to the conquest of new privileges. Nor did they neglect to seize them. In the very first parliament the Commons succeeded in having appointed two citizens of London, John Philpot and William Walworth, to take charge of the subsidy, and see that it was exclusively appropriated to the purposes of the war. In this way was the great power of control over the disbursements of the revenue established by the Commons. This was followed soon after by another and not less valuable acquisition. The Commons, being in an ill-humour, demanded permission to examine the treasurer's accounts. It was granted by the king under protest, and on condition that it should not be drawn into precedent. But the most stringent investigation disclosed no malpractices, and the Commons stoned for their unworthy suspicions by a new grant. On the next occasion when a subsidy was demanded, the Commons, in spite of the king's saving clause, were not only permitted but invited to examine the books of the treasury. Thus were two most important principles established:

4. That the Commons possessed the right to look after the distribution and application of the moneys raised in taxation; and

5. That they possessed the right at any time to examine the books and accounts of all those into whose hands public moneys came.

The impeachment of Suffolk in this reign confirmed the right of the Commons to this mode of punishing evil ministers.

The reign of Henry IV. was favourable to constitutional progress. He had, when Duke of Hereford, opposed the unconstitutional proceedings of Richard, and his faulty title still further disposed him to court the goodwill of the people, by governing according to law. Yet, his reign is not so much marked by new constitutional gains as by the confirmation and consolidation of those already obtained. One important principle assumed in practice, but never expressly granted, was formally conceded by the king in 1407.

6. This was the claim of the Commons to declare all money grants by the mouth of their speaker. The circumstances which led to this important decision were as follows:—The king had asked

\* An ordinance was temporary, a statute permanent and duly enrolled.

the Lords what aid was necessary for the public defence, and on receiving their answer, sent for a number of the commons to hear and report to their house the opinion of the Lords. Twelve commons attended accordingly, and on their return made their report. The Commons at once took the alarm, complained of the proceeding as an invasion of their liberties. The king, when he heard of the excitement created, at once yielded, and with the assent of the Lords decided, that it was lawful for the lords to deliberate, in the absence of the king, on the state of the realm and the remedies needed; that it was equally lawful for the Commons to do the same, provided always that neither house should make any report to the king on a grant made by the Commons, and assented to by the Lords, or of any communication between the houses respecting such grant, until the Lords and Commons are of one accord in the matter, and then only in the accustomed form, by the Commons, through the mouth of their speaker.

7. Besides the right of the Commons to declare money grants, there is here granted to both houses the right of freedom of debate.

Under Henry V. there is not much of constitutional change. The principal point gained was the security of the king's promise, that no variations should be made in the petitions of the Commons, in the process of turning them into laws, but that when finally drawn up they should exactly correspond with the original.

But a still better security was obtained by the plan introduced in the reign of Henry VI., of presenting not petitions but bills, which had, therefore, to be adopted or rejected altogether; being already in statute form, no preparation was needed, and the risk of alteration was reduced to a minimum.

With the reign of Henry VI. ends the constitution's first period of growth. Edward IV. acted despotically from the outset, and the cowardice or indifference of the Commons placed no obstacles in his way. Of his government it has been possible to say: "The reign of Edward IV. is the first during which no statute was passed for redress of grievances, or maintenance of the subject's liberty."\*

But though Edward added nothing to the body of constitutional rights, he did not hesitate to violate the most fundamental, when it stood in his way. The principle that no taxes should be raised without consent of parliament was set at nought by the new system of benevolences which he introduced. These were "free-will" gifts asked from wealthy persons who could not, for some reason, well or safely refuse. The illegality was abolished by the first parliament of Richard III., but only to show the powerlessness of that body, for that unscrupulous monarch followed the practice, as if the law had never been passed.

It is finally to the reign of Edward that the odium belongs of first introducing torture into England. A man named Cornelius, who was found with letters for Margaret of Anjou, had fire applied to the soles of his feet to make him disclose the names of his accomplices. One of those whom he accused, a man named Hawkins, was racked to obtain from him further information.

sent of the lords, and declared by the mouth of the speaker, A. D. 1407.

7. Freedom of debate granted by implication, in reign of Henry VI.

Security against alterations of Commons' petitions.

Bills replace petitions, in reign of Henry VI.

Constitutional barrenness of the Yorkist period.

Benevolences

First employment of torture in England. A. D. 1468.

\* Hallam's "Middle Ages," chap. viii.

**Freedom from arrest.**

Of the personal privileges of members of parliament were freedom from arrest, and freedom of speech, during the parliamentary session. The first of these has its roots in the Saxon times, and was always theoretically acknowledged, but not always practically observed. By virtue of it, the member, while engaged in his parliamentary duties, could not be sued in a civil action, nor subpoenaed to serve on a jury, nor indicted for any offence unless treason, felony, or breach of the peace. The immunities of the master were extended to his servants. The duration of the privilege is supposed to include, in addition to the session, periods of forty days before and after.

**Violations of the right. Case of Lark, A. D. 1429.**

Twice in the reign of Henry VI., there were violations of this right. In 1429, one Lark, a servant of the member of London, had been thrown into the Fleet prison on a private suit, but on the petition of the Commons, referring to their privilege, he was released. In 1460, in the case of one Clerk, member for Chippenham, who had also been imprisoned in the Fleet by private suitors, the Commons petitioned the king to direct the chancellor to issue a writ to the warden of the Fleet for his release, and this was accordingly done.

**Violations of freedom of debate.****Case of Keighly A. D. 1501. Case of Peter de la Mere, A. D. 1576.**

Freedom of debate, though very early acquired, comes chiefly into notice through the attempts made to stifle it. Of these, the first is the case of Henry Keighly, a knight of the shire, who, for presenting a bill of articles which offended the king, Edward I., was sent to the Tower. The next is that of Peter de la Mere, Speaker of the Good Parliament, who was thrown into prison by John of Gaunt for his action in that assembly.

Then there is the case of Thorpe, Speaker in 1453, who, at the suit of the Duke of York, was sent to the Fleet. The Lords refused to accede to the Commons' petition for his release. This was really in punishment of Thorpe's opposition to the Duke.

**Case of Sir Thos. Haxby A. D. 1397.**

In the case of Sir Thomas Haxby, who, in 1397, gave great offence to Richard by bringing in a bill in which, besides other grounds of complaint, he refers to the great extravagance of the royal household, owing to the great number of prelates, ladies, and other courtiers attached to it, Richard demanded the author of the bill, who was at once surrendered by the terrified Commons. He was condemned to death, but the Archbishop of Canterbury interceded, and his life was spared. Another case is that of Thomas Young, who in the parliament of 1451 proposed that the Duke of York should be proclaimed heir to the crown. He was for this thrown into the Tower, and fined.

**Case of Thos. Young, A. D. 1461.**

It was in the reign of Henry V. that the Commons first began to present private petitions. These were often made into statutes, and are the origin of the practice of introducing private bills.

The lords or peers included the ranks of prince, duke, marquess, earl, viscount, and baron.

**Prince.**

The highest place after the king belonged to the Prince of Wales. Throughout the period here dealt with, he was the only person who bore the title of prince. That title, as is well-known, was first conferred by Edward I., in 1301, on his infant son, afterwards Edward II. It is singular that Edward III. never bore it. His son, the Black Prince, Richard II., Henry V., and three Edwards, sons respectively of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., all received it by special creation. The king's eldest son was also Duke of Cornwall by virtue of his birth.

Next to that of prince is the title of duke, which was first introduced into England by Edward III., when, in 1337, he created the Dukedom of Cornwall as a perpetual dignity for the king's eldest son. The Duchy of Lancaster was founded in 1351, and again refounded in 1362, in the person of the king's fourth son, John of Gaunt. Later, all the remaining sons of Edward III. were made dukes. Richard II. was equally liberal in the bestowal of this title. His first creation was in 1386, when he made his favourite De Vere Duke of Ireland. In 1397 he added those of Norfolk, Hereford, Surrey, Exeter, and Aumale.

The term marquis was foreign, but it is found in England in the reign of Richard II., who created De Vere Marquis of Dublin.

The earl was a genuinely English title, and needs no comment.

The first person who bore the title of viscount was John Beaumont, a descendant of the Beaumont who figures so prominently in the history of Edward II.

These new dignities tended to obscure and overlay the olden title of baron. In one way it was modified by them; as they were conferred by charter or patent, it was natural that the same modes of creation would be extended to barons. The first case in which this was done was in the reign of Richard II., who, in 1387 created John Beauchamp a baron by patent. In 1432, John Cornwall was created Baron of Fanhope in parliament, and the creation was afterwards confirmed by patent. Baronies by patent were generally limited to the heirs male; the olden baronies by tenure descended to heiresses on failure of heirs male. In this latter case, the husband of the heiress frequently adopted the title of her ancestor, and became invested with the rights and privileges attached to it. Sir John Oldcastle, in right of his wife, heiress of Cobham, sat among the peers, as Baron Cobham. There are numberless other instances of the practice.

Below the barons came bannerets, over whom there have been much discussion as to whether they constituted an element of the peerage or not. According to Professor Stubbs, bannerets were not a branch of the peerage, but a degree of knighthood; and the confusion in their case arises from the same persons being both barons and bannerets. A conclusive proof is afforded that they were not peers, by the case of Sir John Coupland, who took King David of Scotland prisoner, and was in consequence made a banneret by Edward III. Coupland never sat in parliament, which he must have done had he been a peer.

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